FEBRUARY, 1934

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NEGRO SCHOLARSHIP
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DEBIT AND CREDIT, 1933

Debit

Twenty-Eight Human Beings Lynched by Mobs Without Trial.

The Scottsboro Cases.

The Angelo Herndon Case.

The Share-croppers of Alabama.

Peonage on the Levees of Mississippi.

The Sabotage of the Federation of Colored Catholics.

Exit the National Benefit Life Insurance Company.

The Strangling of Liberia.

The A. F. of L.

The Death of: Nathan B. Young, Lucy E. Moten, John H. Love, Henry H. Proctor, Otto L. Bohannan, Dinah Watts Pace.

Credit

The New Deal Appoints Henry Hunt, Robert Weaver, E. K. Jones.

Negroes in College Number 23,038 and 2,548 receive A.B. Degree.

Twelve Doctors of Philosophy.

The "Emperor Jones" in Opera and Film.

Appraisal of the Harlem Hospital.

The Rosenwald Conference at Washington.

The Second Amenia Conference.

Five Negro Principals in Richmond.

The Fight for Equal Teachers' Wages in North Carolina.

The Joint Committee on National Recovery.

Fisk and Tuskegee Choirs Go on Tour.

New Appropriations and a New Treasurer at Howard.

The First Colored Professor at Lincoln.

The New Colored Y. M. C. A. in New York City.

The "Green Pastures."

Hall Johnson's "Run Little Chillun," and Duke Ellington's "Creole Rhapsody."

The Slater Board Elects a Colored Member.

Yergan, 15th Spingarn Medalist.

Caterina Jarboro Sings, and Jesse Owens Runs.

A Colored Cadet at West Point.

The First Du Bois Literary Prize Ethel Waters Stars.

One Hundredth Anniversary of Blyden, Toussaint L'Ouverture, William Wilberforce.

The Flint Goodridge Hospital.

Books by: Charles Edward Russell, Arthur Raper, Jessie Fauset, James Weldon Johnson.

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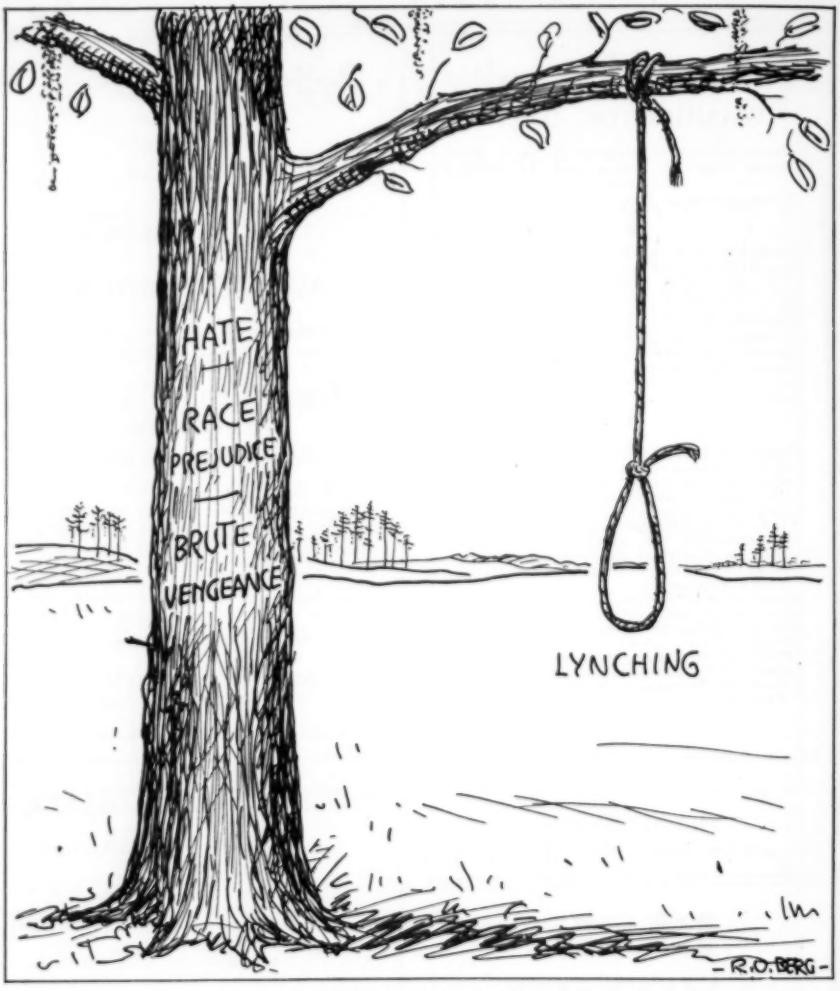

The Tree and Its Fruit

WITH THE CRISIS THIS ISSUE

W. Edward Farrison is Professor of English at Bennett College for Women, Greensboro, N. C.

Archibald Haddon is a well known English dramatic critic.

Martha Gruening contributes frequently to the periodicals. For many years she was an investigator for the N.A.A.C.P.

Mary White Ovington is Treasurer of the N.A.A.C.P.

Victor Daly is the author of "Not Only War." He lives in Washington, D. C.

Mary Van Kleeck is Associate Director of the International Industrial Relations Institute.

Among the poets whose work appears, one of them, Jonathan Henderson Brooks writes: "The enclosed poem may be the last from me for some time to come." We fervently hope not. Mr. Brooks may be addressed at Sanatorium, Mississippi.

The Crisis was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while The Crisis uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor* — **George W. Streator**, *Business Manager*

AS THE CROW FLIES

Are we going forward or backward and above all are we going anywhere?

•

Mark our words, women and religion will end Hitler yet.

•

Mr. William Hearst once kicked us into war with Spain and now assisted by Vinson and Britten is trying to sic us on Japan.

•

When the United States fights a colored nation there are 12 million colored Americans who will do a little fighting for themselves; and don't let that slip your mind for one little minute.

•

Chicago and Detroit defaulted on $550 million of Bonds and Washington is dumb. Liberia postponed payment on a debt of two million dollars to an American rubber king and we sent a Southern Brigadier to throw a fit in Monrovia and threaten war and rapine.

•

The nice thing about New York's city government is that it takes longer to change it than any reform wave ever lasts in that latitude.

•

NRA! CWA! BWA! BAA! BAA! Black sheep have you any wool left?

•

The new and revised Wall Street code: "Billions for Profits but not one cent for real Recovery!"

•

The funniest thing about these United States of America in this year of grace is the sight of Capital adopting Socialism in order to fight Communism and restore private profit.

•

No reform wave ever hits the South. Politics are so rotten and graft so common there that the only thorough reform would be revolution.

Will it all end in Fascism? We don't know but one thing is certain, it will all end.

•

Persons wishing to understand Roumanian politics should take a preliminary course in Louisiana under Professor Long.

•

We killed 30,000 people last year by knocking them endways with big, fast automobiles. This year's models are faster and bigger.

•

One of these bright mornings, if all goes well, we are going to know what a dollar is really worth. You bring the dollar.

•

The biggest racketeers are those who pay large taxes to the government and then get them mostly refunded by nice quiet law suits conducted by high grade lawyers who later make the Supreme Court.

And by the way, isn't it about time that we seriously discussed the abolition of lawyers? That is a Russian reform which we have neglected.

•

Baltimore had a balance at the end of 1933. Sure it did! It stole it from schools and hospitals and other paupers. Anybody can have a balance at that price.

•

There is nothing to fear from over-taxation. It is over-taxation of the poor and immunity for the rich that is the chief reason for fear and anger.

•

The poor devil who owns a home or a farm or who gets a starvation salary from a corporation will never escape taxation—no never! But the owner of stocks and bonds and receiver of dividends and bonuses will pay what he damned well wants to and no more.

Volume 41, No. 2

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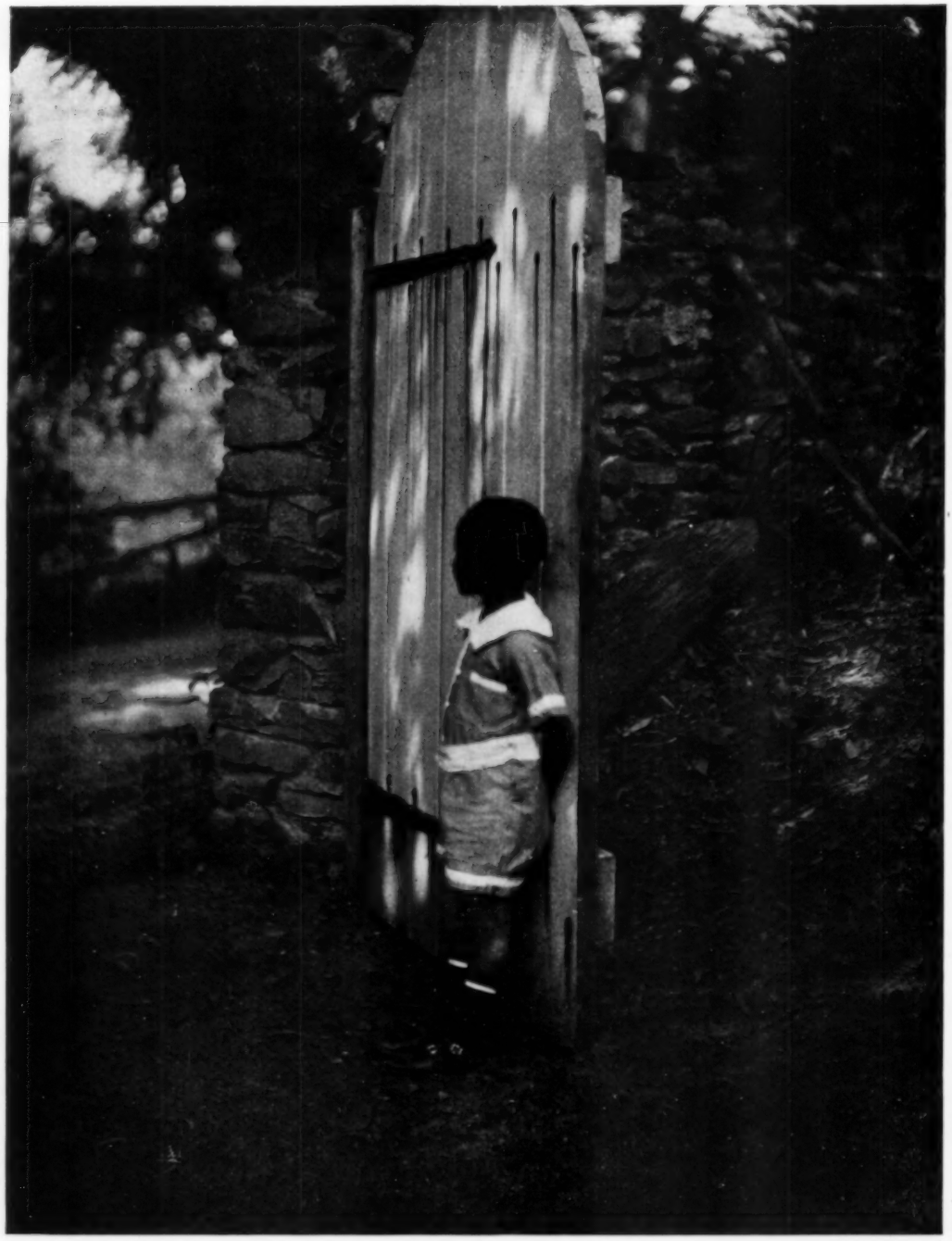


A Photographic Study by Alice Boughton

Negro Scholarship

By W. EDWARD FARRISON

WHEN, in 1876, Yale University conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on Edward A. Bouchet, no doubt that event was viewed by many not only as indicative of remarkable progress in Negro education—for Bouchet was the first Negro to receive the doctor's degree in America—but also as definitely significant of the rise and development of the Negro scholar and of Negro scholarship. Since Bouchet's student days an almost indeterminable number of Negroes have made their way through both Negro and "white" colleges, and a great many have ventured into the larger fields of knowledge which graduate studies in American and European universities are supposed to open. To the present date upwards of a hundred Negroes have received the doctor's degree from reputable universities, upwards of a hundred more have completed requirements "towards" this degree; and, thanks especially to the graduate schools of education, the number of masters of arts is legion.

As far as the getting of college and graduate degrees and degrees in the technical professions is concerned, anything that may be said about the progress of Negro education will very likely prove a platitude. But what is to be said of Negro scholarship, and what of the Negro scholar?

It must be remembered, of course, that in its broader and more fundamental sense scholarship has little or nothing to do with courses and grades and transcripts. At least it can not be accurately measured by these things, even though they are all good in their places. Scholarship is concerned with the serious and systematic pursuit of worthwhile knowledge, not for either credits or degrees, but to the end that it may help to conserve and advance civilization—that it may help to bring about, in a phrase of Matthew Arnold, "the humanization of man in society." Scholarship aims at something more than the satisfaction of the curiosity of an inquisitive mind; and while it is never altogether out of touch with the so-called "practical" side of life, its purposes are not limited solely to bread-and-butter matters. It is not a matter of living above the clouds, away from the haunts of ordinary mortals; but it can be, as Lowell said of a classic, simple without being vulgar, and elevated without being distant. At its best it is at once creative in its methods and universal in its appeal.

Going back with this idea of scholarship in mind to the question raised above, one feels greatly inclined to say that Negro scholarship still remains to be developed, and that Negro scholars in appreciable numbers—numbers sufficiently great to influence the trend of Negro education—are still expected to arrive. To be sure, a not inconsequential number of Negroes have made serious and successful efforts to contribute something of permanent value to the sum total of the world's knowledge, but not too many, by any means. Among the substantial contributions which have been made, not all the theses which have been written should be included, for it is next to impossible to distinguish many of them from mere compilations of facts from the books with which most alert college students may be presumed to be familiar; and as to the various "studies," many of which have been chiefly concerned with the gathering of statistical data of a value that is not always certain, one must speak with staid caution, lest he indulge in extravagant praise. Generally speaking, supposedly educated Negroes have been spending too much time acquiring "facts" and too little time and effort in interpreting them against their own spiritual and cultural background. They have been too easily satisfied, as it were, with merely partaking of the feast of knowledge—often getting only the crumbs of the feast—to share any definite responsibilities in the preparation of it. (It is noteworthy that although of the making of textbooks there seems to be no end, for one reason or another Negro teachers are taking only a small part in the making of any.)

Even in the study of their own racial heritage Negroes have left it largely to white "authorities" to reveal them to themselves, and this many whites are doing, not always with a thorough knowledge of their subject, and often with unmistakable prejudices against it. Within the last ten or fifteen years the writing of books about the Negro has become a very lucrative business—not so much for Negroes as for white people. Significantly enough, the most extensive study yet made of the Negro's part in American belles-lettres is a book by a white man. With regard to most of the Negro's critical writings about the accomplishments of the race in the fine arts, the fact needs to be emphasized that the art of criticism is not always tantamount to the art of throwing bouquets.

Heretofore, in the study of modern languages much emphasis has been put by Negroes on *parlez-vous*-ing and on "cultural" reading, but not quite so much on the study of language from the more scientific, and more difficult, point of view. Thus we have failed to gain command of those historical and sociological perspectives which only the scientific study of language may be expected to open to us. Probably fewer than a half-dozen Negroes have ventured far enough into the study of Germanics to do more than view from a distance the scholarly activities in that province of knowledge. In the field of English a somewhat larger group of Negroes have accomplished some very highly estimable work, but it is rather remarkable that not an infinitesimally small number has succeeded in becoming "masters" in the field without learning to read either *Beowulf* or Chaucer—except in "translations." Fortunately, a few of the younger and more ambitious students of the Romance languages have recently begun to use their language studies as a medium through which to discover the unmistakable, though long-hidden, impress of the culture of ancient Africa on that of Southern Europe. The influence that the work of these Negroes may have on the development of a higher racial self-respect still remains to be seen, but that it will be wholesome can hardly be doubted.

IN the social sciences Negro scholarship has made a more noteworthy name for itself than it has in the liberal arts, largely, it may be reasonably supposed, because the study of the social sciences involves close consideration of the Negro's struggle, not only for subsistence, but also for existence in America. Under the influence of a few Negroes who undoubtedly merit the honors and privileges of scholars, the history of the Negro and his part in the development of the Western World is being rewritten, as it should be. Many casual and a few serious attempts have been made by Negroes to study scientifically the economic and social problems especially affecting Negroes, but much still remains to be done, particularly with regard to the Negro's problems of health and business.

No doubt it may be truthfully said, in extenuation of the existing state of affairs, that the Negro's failure to contribute any more to the progress of knowledge than he has contributed has been due in a large measure to the limitations which Western civilization has fixed upon his race. But certainly we can not blame everything on the race

question. Besides, there are other possible reasons, which are not far to seek. No doubt there are quite a few educated Negroes with a genuine interest in the arts and sciences, but one is conscious of a far from inconsiderable number who are only a little less interested in gossip, winning teams, bridge hands, and tea-pouring than they are in the sedulous cultivation of what they call, in their more academic moments, their "field." Further, it is natural to expect the encouragement and development of scholarship in the atmosphere of institutions of learning; but scholarship presupposes a certain leisure, a certain stability of position, and a certain freedom of speech and activity which are only beginning to evolve themselves on the campuses of most Negro colleges.

IN view of its internal short-comings and external limitations, what is to be said of the future of Negro scholarship? Is it likely that Negro "professors" will continue merely to retail and relay to their students ideas which they have too often accepted without criticism, and without re-interpretation, from "authorities"? Well, in matters concerning the future, it is always much easier to say what ought to be than it is to say what will be. But the fact must not be overlooked that what *may* come to pass is greatly conditioned by our convictions concerning what *should* come to pass; and what our present convictions should be concerning the necessity for the development of a more profound scholarship among Negroes can hardly be sufficiently emphasized at this time to bring about this development soon enough. Whatever may be the besetting handicaps of Negro scholarship, whatever limitations and difficulties it may be heir to at present, the course that it should take in the near future is clear. It is needless for the could-be and would-be Negro scholar to sit still and bemoan the plight of his race and the narrowness of his opportunities. It will help him but little to remain idle and talk about what he could do and would do if his hindrances were smaller, and his chances greater. Rather, he is faced with the high necessity of starting from where he is now to climb to those heights to which he may wish to attain —of taking what he has and making what he wants.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not advocating scholarship on a mass-production scale; nor am I suggesting that Negro teachers should abandon their classrooms and the human interests therein and go into "research" for the mere sake of "research." But I am suggesting that Negro could-be scholarship needs must be made to stand, in Carlyle's phrase, more on things, and less on the show of things; that it should strive to achieve something more permanent than the honors of glorified valedictorians. Negro graduate and ex-graduate students can well afford to spend a little less time patting themselves on the back for being the "youngest Negro" to pass the "most brilliant examination" at this or that "white" university, and a little more time in getting themselves beyond the point where their knowledge and thinking need be measured in terms of "brilliant" examinations. Negro scholarship must take itself more seriously in the future than it seems to have taken itself in the past. It must become at once broader and sounder. To be sure, it can not afford to limit itself to the interests of only one race, for the man who knows only himself and is interested only in himself is just as foolish as is he who knows nothing but thinks that he knows everything. It must concern itself to a very great extent with the thoughts and actions of all races. Putting aside all childish superficialities, Negro scholarship must strive soon to discover itself in full maturity; it must strive with earnest endeavor to contribute something substantial to the advancement of learning, and thus to the progress of civilization.

Above all else, Negro scholarship has some special services to render to Negro education. It must cultivate on the campuses of our Negro colleges, not that bookishness which is so often mistaken for learning, but that liberalness of mind which Woodrow Wilson called "the spirit of learning"—that easiness of judgment which "consists in the power to distinguish good reasoning from bad, in the power to digest and interpret evidence, in the habit of catholic observation and preference for the non-partisan point of view, in an addiction to clear and logical processes of thought and yet an instinctive desire to interpret rather than to stick in the letter of the reasoning, in a taste for knowledge and a deep respect for the integrity of the human mind."

It is the task of Negro scholarship to bring higher learning into closer contact with Negro life, and thereby to take the lead in developing among Negroes a saner attitude towards education, as well as towards the problems of the race. By scholars of their own race Negro students must be taught to recognize the fact that the economic and social problems of the masses are essentially the problems of the intelligentsia —that although the tendrils connecting Butler's Bottom and strivers row are invisible, they are none the less strong and entangling. Negro scholarship must take the lead in developing among all classes of Negroes a feeling of brotherhood that will be neither compromising nor patronizing, and is disseminating a culture that will be neither artificial nor snobbish.

Within recent years much has been said by some of our leading Negro thinkers concerning the mis-education of the Negro and concerning the necessity of distinguishing a *Negro* college from just a college. It has been pointed out that Negro colleges are failing to teach Negroes to deal with the problems of their race, that Negroes are being educated away from the appreciation of their racial heritage, and that they are being taught to value only those things which the white world pronounces good. Obviously, such points of view as these involve questions which can not be settled in a short essay—if they can ever be settled to the satisfaction of every one.

Whether we say that the Negro is being mis-educated, or that he is being only partially educated at present, the fact still remains that Negro students are in need of greater incentives towards a more sympathetic, but not sentimental, study of the Negro in his relationship to the civilization of which he must now necessarily be considered an integral part. If such incentives may be expected to come from anywhere, they may be most reasonably expected to come from the Negro scholar. It is both needless and foolish to expect them to come from anybody else, for if the better educated Negroes can not interpret to the world the life and culture of their race, surely nobody else can be expected to do so for them. If the Negro is ever to be presented in a wholly true light to the world, he must be presented by the Negro scholar, working in cooperation with the Negro artist. No white friend can make the presentation, no matter how friendly and sympathetic he may be. It can be made only by those who have thought the thoughts, breathed the hopes, and experienced the inner life of the Black Man. Negro literature, Negro history, Negro economics, Negro sociology, and Negro philosophy will all be more effectively studied and developed, and will definitely influence for the best the Negro life of the future only after there shall have arisen among us a scholarship that may be creative, productive, and comprehensive enough to function as an efficient connective between these things and the larger life and culture of the Western World. The future of Negro education in America is largely contingent upon the leadership that may henceforth be given to it by the American Negro scholar.

Centenary of Negro Drama

By ARCHIBALD HADDON

(In the *London Era*)

BROADCASTING has led to the discovery that exactly one hundred years ago, in 1833, the greatest of all black tragedians, Ira Aldridge, made his first appearance in London; an event that must have been a regular eye-opener to English playgoers, who had never heard of such a thing as a Negro daring to attempt the leading rôles of Shakespeare.

I mentioned in "The Era" that an English actor, as a result of one of my broadcasts, had written informing me that he had played First Grave Digger to Aldridge's "Hamlet." Then the telephone bell rang, and I heard the voice of Ira Aldridge's daughter, Miss Amanda Ira Aldridge. Did I know that her father had made his début in this country in 1833, and that she was quietly celebrating this interesting centenary — the beginning of Negro dramatic art in England?

Oddly enough, I had just been reading in the newly published memoirs of Dame Madge Kendal a curious story of how Madge Robertson, as she was then, played Desdemona to Aldridge's Othello — the African Roscius, as he was always called on the bills.

NOTE.—Quintus Roscius was strictly a comedian, but he attained such perfection in his art that to be a "Roscius" became synonymous with pre-eminence in any profession.

It happened at the Haymarket. Dame Madge says that at the words, "Your hand, Desdemona," Aldridge opened his hand and made her place hers in it to emphasise the difference in color; and the effect brought a round of applause.

"In the last act," Dame Kendal recalls, "he used to take me out of bed by my hair and drag me round the stage before he smothered me. So brutal did it seem that the audience hissed."

I hung up the telephone receiver and made straight tracks for Miss Aldridge's salon in Kensington. I call it a salon, because the lady is a teacher of elocution, singing, and music, as well as a noted composer of Oriental songs and melodies.

To music lovers she is widely known as Montague Ring. The songs and compositions of Montague Ring have been published by the score, have been sung and played by many eminent artists, and are often heard "on the air." After I had the privilege of hearing Miss Aldridge play her "Three African Dances," I wondered why no producer had thought of commissioning her to do the music of an Oriental ballet; it sounded so magnificent.

Miss Ira Aldridge was only a year old when her father died in 1867, so she never saw him act. The tragedian, after his successful début at the Old Vic, had a brilliant career and left his family a good deal of property, including seven West End houses. Miss Aldridge and her sister lived for forty years in one of them. Their home, in Kensington, was a resort of artistic Londoners.

Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale, often went there. The African Roscius's second wife, Miss Aldridge's mother, was a lovely Swedish girl, so Jenny Lind naturally made a protegée of Miss Aldridge, and personally attended to her education at the Royal College of Music. When Miss Aldridge gave me this bit of information, I remarked that Dame Kendal says in her memoirs that one day when she went to the Academy to give the pupils a lesson in diction, the name at the top of a list that was handed to her was a daughter of the African Roscius.

Today, Miss Ira Aldridge is a charming little lady in her 'sixties; bright-eyed, olive-complexioned, with sparkling silvery hair. She speaks the most beautiful English, in deep contralto tones. So perfect and so musical is her enunciation that I was scarcely surprised to hear that Paul Robeson learned articulation from her for his Othello; and Robeson is one of many stage celebrities who have gone to this gifted woman for lessons in voice production.

Miss Aldridge was rather concerned about the Desdemona story told by Dame Kendal. I assured her that when I read it I got the impression that it was merely a theatrical effect, and only "brutal" visually. My experience of seeing Oriental women acrobats being lugged about terrifically by the hair of their heads convinces me that Desdemona wouldn't feel a twinge in the expert hands of the African Roscius.

Miss Aldridge, thus assured, remarked that Ira Aldridge's fearsome aspect as he approached Desdemona to smother her with a pillow was certainly alarming; so much so that a young German Desdemona, in Berlin, screamed at the sight of him, jumped out of bed, and fled from the stage.

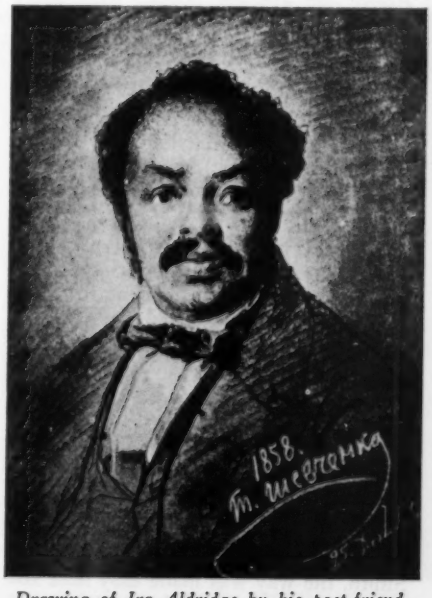
The scene must have been equally scarifying from in front, for when Aldridge did it in a Constantinople theatre, there came a yell from the gallery, and a sailor was seen climbing down with a knife in his hand and shouting, "He shan't hurt her . . . He shan't hurt her!"

On the salon walls were numerous souvenirs of the great actor. His Othello scimitar was there, and an impressive painting showing him as the noble Moor, and a framed testimonial to "so distinguished an artist," signed by Count Tolstoi, an uncle of the dramatist —for Aldridge was tremendously popular in Russia, as well as in Berlin. And, of course, there was a portrait of my hostess's immortal patron, Jenny Lind.

"My father's portrait hung for many years in the Garrick Club," Miss Aldridge said, "but somebody told me that it was taken down to make room for one of Mr. Kendal." (I hope this isn't true.)

It is clear from the many impressive relics and souvenirs produced by Miss Ira Aldridge that the African Roscius was one of the greatest tragedians of his time. The impression he made abroad, in America and all over the Continent, as well as in England, is apparent in a multitude of tributes that could only have been inspired by a man of genius.

Charles Kean's wife, Ellen Tree, was one of his Desdemonas; and one of the handsomest of English actors, Walter Montgomery, was his Iago at the Haymarket. Aldridge drew the town to his Othello at Covent Garden and the



Drawing of Ira Aldridge by his poet-friend, Caras Shevtchenko of the Ukraine

Lyceum. At these and other West End theatres he also appeared as Hamlet, Shylock, Macbeth, and Richard III.

London was taken aback at the singular appropriateness of a black man playing Othello.

This is a subject of perennial dispute, but for my own part I have no doubt that Shakespeare himself would have welcomed the innovation. One really cannot get away from the text. It speaks of Othello's "sooty bosom," his "wool," his "rolling eyes." It causes him to say, "Haply, for I am black." It makes him refer to Desdemona's name as "begrimed and black as mine own face."

It was Edmund Kean who popularised the ligher shading, for the sake of facial visibility; but modern actors are showing a disposition to return to the blackamoor manner. I remember that Wilfred Walter adopted it effectively at the Old Vic.

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Two other Negro actors have given us black Othellos since Aldridge—Morgan Smith and Paul Robeson. Morgan Smith, at the old Surrey, also played Macbeth, Hamlet, and King Lear. A good actor, he was a favourite with the crowd. Every night, at the stage door, they mobbed him in his brougham.

The African Roscius, a Senegalese, was born in America in 1804. His father, a preacher, had him educated for the pulpit, which explains his ability as a speaker.

My examination of critiques of the period convinces me that Aldridge was no ranter, but a skilled and subtle artist. Above the average height, with finely cut features and a big physique, he exuded personality and power. That he was far from being a barnstormer is proved by a contemporary critic's observations that, in all his dealings with Desdemona, his behavior was refined and delicate, while his actions "were beautifully observant of Hamlet's advice to the players."

When I read those words, I hoped more than ever that Ira Aldridge's portrait is in its proper place at the Garrick Club. And in this connection, it is worth considering that Miss Aldridge told me that her father had been naturalised in England.

• • •

Such were the beginnings of Negro dramatic art in this country. The year 1933 was the centenary of its establishment in this country.

After Ira Aldridge and Morgan Smith, the way was made easy here for colored entertainers and entertainments of all descriptions.

There followed the craze for "Nigger minstrelsy" — Moore and Burgess, Christy, and the like — and then the colored choirs from America, leading up to the vogue in Negro spirituals.

The renown of Ira Aldridge helped to pave the way for England's welcome to the first all-Negro play, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." That heart-rending revelation of the Negro's troubled soul probably caused more tears to be shed in the Victorian theatre than any other play of any description; and, incidentally, its performances made more money than most.

• • •

In our time, Negro drama in England has been chiefly represented by Williams and Walker in "In Dahomey," Eugene O'Neils "Emperor Jones," and the very successful song and dance shows, "Shuffle Along," "Black Birds," and "Dover Street to Dixie."

In the way of straight plays, the Negro masterpiece is probably Marc Connolly's "The Green Pastures," which startled America a couple of years ago.

Christ is the principal character—as in "The Servant in the House" and "The Third Floor Back"—that is to say, in modern guise. He appears as a benevolent colored parson; frock coat, white tie, and the rest. The effect of the play is said to be prodigious.

But not since Ira Aldridge have we seen a Negro actor of a quality fit to compare with the great tragedians of our stage—for I doubt whether Paul Robeson, as yet, has qualified for that distinction. America has had one in the late Charles Gilpin, the ex-Pullman porter, whose acting was so distinguished that the Drama League lionized him at a banquet attended by the foremost exponents of dramatic art in New York. It is our loss that Charles Gilpin was obsessed by a superstitious horror of the sea.

• • •

What a lot of colored artists and artistes there are who, I suggest, should hold the name and fame of Ira Aldridge in something akin to reverence.

One thinks immediately of a regular procession of names. Taking some at random: Paul Robeson, Josephine Baker, Florence Mills, Nina Mae McKinney, Elizabeth Welch, Leslie Hutchinson, Layton and Johnstone.

I suggest to these ladies and gentlemen of the colored race that they should not be backward in paying their respects to the dear little silver-haired lady, Amanda Ira Aldridge, who so proudly asserts that the year of Grace, 1933, should be acclaimed as the Centenary of Negro Dramatic Art in England.

CAUSE

See page 46 for "Effect"

This occurred in Clinton, S. C.:

No'm, Miss Lucy, I mighty sorry to leave you, but I aint never comin' back. No mam, it aint the money. You all been mighty good to me, but I done made up my min' for good. I is goin' clean away from Clinton, 'way up no'th to Baltimore, where my cousin live at. I been fixin' to go for a long time now, an' since they done lynch po' Norris Dendy, seem to me Clinton aint no kind of place for colored folks.

Yes, mam, I had it mighty nice these fo' years I cooked for you all. Mattie Lou gwin' to be mo' than tickled to get the place. But you aint all of Clinton, Miss Lucy. Out here to the college you an' the Puhfessuh don' know nuthin' about what go on down town. Ev'ytime I meet Dus' Whitmire hobblin' along somethin' say to me, Go *NOW!* An' seems like I done *got* to go.

Aint you never heard about Dus' Whitmire? Well that show you don' know what go on in Clinton. It happened way 'fore they lynched po' Norris. It were like this. One Sat'day night I went down town 'bout nine, ten o'clock an' was walkin' along in the crowd. We were laughin' at Willie May Pitts cuttin' up like she do an' all at once somebody commenced screamin' over by the café. It were Dus', an' she's sayin', "No, sir, you aint goin' to arrest me jus' for that! No, sir, don't you put me in the jail house jus' for that!" So that white man he say, "shut up!" Then he haul off an' slap her good an' hard, an' Dus', she stagger an' mos' fall, an' then she catch herself an' lift up a brick. I saw it myself, mam! she lam that white man in the face *with a brick!*

Well, they carried her off an' locked her in the calaboose an' we went on home. Nex' mornin' Minnie Whitmire come runnin' in an' ax me would I come an' see Dus'. Three o'clock that mornin' that white man she hit an' another officer took Dus' out of the jailhouse an' carried her out back of town a few miles an' whipped her. I mean *whipped!* One of those laws held her while the other laid it on for most an hour with a big strap.

I went over to see Dus' but I wouldn't a knowed her. She scream' if you touch her an' her face were wrinkled back like a monkey. Oh Miss Lucy! Every inch of her were raw an' bruised an' bleedin'! It's the mos' pitiful sight I ever saw!

The doctor done grease her up an' give her medicine to take down the fever an' keep her still. They aint stopped payin' that doctor yet. We all thought she were goin' to die. It were three weeks before she could move aroun'. Now she don't never straighten up, jus' walks bent over like a ol' woman an' hobbles aroun' stiff an' lame like. Miss Lucy, it can't be right for a white man to do a young girl like that, don't care what they say! She's twenty-fo' years old, an' seems like she's eighty.

No, mam! This South aint no safe place for colored folks. I sure mighty sorry to leave you all, but *I'm goin' away.*

The Big House Interprets the Cabin

Roll, Jordan, Roll, by Julia Peterkin and Doris Ulmann . . Robert Ballou, 251 Pages $3.50

THIS is a unique book. It is also a beautiful and in many ways an honest one. And if Doris Ulmann's pictures deserve higher praise for beauty and veracity than the accompanying text, it is largely because the camera is a more objective instrument, less susceptible to glamor and to the charm of quaintness and tradition than the human mind. And this remains true, even after one has admitted all the possibilities of selection, emphasis, and omission by the camera's manipulator. Short of sheer trickery—and there is nothing of the sort here—such a photographic record as this cannot fail to give us authentic and impressive documentation. Mrs. Ulmann has also given us a good deal more than this. She has given us a series of pictures of great beauty and interest, covering a wide variety of Negro types. Her approach to these types and to the typical Southern landscape where they are found is serious and sensitive, devoid of preconceptions, of condescension or facetiousness. Particularly notable are: the picture of the three Negro girls—students, apparently at some industrial school—which in its rich arrangement, its fine detail and high lights is suggestive of an interior by Vermeer; the two fine, laughing, almost startlingly vital heads of Negro youths; the two lovely photographs of the outdoor baptismal ceremony, the rich Southern forest and swamp landscapes with their contrast of brilliant sunlight and heavy shade; and the touching, serious study of the little barefoot girl, dancing against a background of sunlit leaves. There are also a number of interesting portrait studies, but some of them undoubtedly suffer from Mrs. Ulmann's leaning toward effects of extreme obscurity. However striking pictorially these photographs may be, however beautiful and interesting as compositions in light and shade, human interest is tantalizingly lost in this obscurity which completely obliterates facial characteristics and expression. But when this reservation has been made it should be said that Doris Ulmann has done an important piece of work extremely well.

As much could no doubt be said for Mrs. Peterkin's text—if one granted her premises; that is if one were willing to think of the Negroes she describes as being first and foremost quaint, and picturesque, and thoughtfully provided by an obliging Providence to serve and amuse the owners of the Big House and their guests, contentedly aware of this as their destiny and "wistfully holding to a past where they were part of a civilization never excelled in America." But if one cannot accept these premises and cannot see it as the manifest destiny of the Negro to be cheerfully and quaintly servile, poor, ignorant, pious, and superstitious for the edification of the Big House, one feels a speciousness about this writing, in spite of the surface faithfulness of Mrs. Peterkin's characterization,—the undoubted authenticity of many of her observations, and her conscientious use of local Negro idiom. This speciousness lies in her interpretation of her material, but if this interpretation is discounted to a large extent, the material has a genuine value as a contribution to folklore (white folklore as well as black) and to sociology. It is even more valuable perhaps, for its revelations of the interpreter and the class she represents than for any light it shed on those she interprets.

Granting that much of this material is fresh, interesting and authentic and that Mrs. Peterkin's handling of it is frequently intelligent and distinguished, an informed reader may still find much to question in her picture of the idyllic, contented life of the Negroes on her plantation. Mrs. Peterkin herself is intelligent and ironical enough to meet such a questioner half-way, now and then, with admissions that seriously invalidate her premises. It is true, she tells one, that these Negroes are poor, that they dwell in dilapidated cabins, that the "free" school term is short, that ignorance and superstition are rife among them, that babies die, while their unschooled mothers know of no better remedy than to ask the "conjure woman" for lucky names for them, but very generally nevertheless, they believe, it is better to be "poor and black and contented with whatever God sends than 'vast-rich and white and unrestless'." Besides as Mrs. Peterkin tells us in another chapter, though they are not counted citizens and have few possessions, "*they have seen less fortunate neighbors even poorer than themselves serve sentences on the chain gang for failure to pay poll or property tax.*" (Italics mine.)

But too often the complacency of the white Big House owner gets the better of Mrs. Peterkin's native gifts of clear-sightedness and irony. As an interpreter of Negro life she is undoubtedly somewhat superior to the average white Southerner. She is sufficiently educated to be aware of certain cultural values in Negro art, speech and folkways but she lacks the saving humility which enables DuBose Heyward to see that the ways and the thoughts of the black man are not always as clear to the "Buckra" (even the *rich* Buckra) as he may fondly imagine. And this complacency causes her to fall repeatedly into platitudes and absurdities from which her intelligence ought to save her. She believes for instance that "Negro self-respect demands that *since they are destined to be servants,* (Italics mine) they have a right to be servants of worthy people" and that this has an ennobling influence on Big House owners who strive to meet the Negroes' just demand for worthy masters. She believes also that white Southerners have been influenced by Negroes in other ways. They are "infected" (among other things) "with a wish to live with a minimum of labor." The way the "infection" works out is this: "The normal habit of the better class of Southern white people is to be waited on from the time they are born until they die. Servants are plentiful and cheap on the plantations and it is taken for granted that every Big House family, poor or prosperous, is entitled to service. A gentleman may confess and lament his poverty, but he is not considered extravagant if a "body servant" brings his coffee before he gets out of bed in the mornings, presses his clothes, shines his boots, saddles his horse and attends to his hound and bird dogs. The body servant's duties may also include making his employer's mint juleps in the summer, hot toddies

THREE CABINS

From a photograph taken in Charleston, S. C., by Baxter Snark

in the winter, and keeping his spirits cheered whenever he gets down in the heart." Though Mrs. Peterkin does not say this explicitly, we may perhaps infer that the body servant in infecting his employer with the wish to live with a minimum of labor, has very effectively exorcised his own wish in that direction. It's probably one of those African Voodoo affairs.

Mrs. Peterkin further believes that Negroes are almost incurably cheerful. "Even the chain gang sings to the clink of leg shackles as picks are swung deep into roadside ditches or slings pitch heavy dirt into mudholes ground out by wheels in country thoroughfares." But the three cruel, insistent photographs of the chain gang taken by Doris Ulmann which illustrate this chapter do not show singing or cheerful men. On the contrary they show the shamed, sullen faces of resentful men driven brutally to unwilling labor, hunching shoulders and dropping heads in their attempt to evade the relentless camera. There is an almost grotesque discrepancy, in fact, between Mrs. Peterkin's babblings on the subject of the cheerful Negro songsters and the bitter sense of injustice plainly felt by the morose men in these grim photographs, which makes them the most eloquent commentary possible on the text they illuminate.

Still another of Mrs. Peterkin's quaint beliefs is that these simple-hearted, childish Negroes "in return for faithful work and loyalty . . . expect the white owners to help them settle their difficulties, provide them with land and homes and protect them from injustice whenever the law threatens them with punishment for wrong doing." Apparently she has never heard of lynching. Perhaps the Negroes on these "plantations that have been so cut off from the outside world by wide rivers, swamps and lack of roads and are still undisturbed by the restless present" haven't either. They have, she tells us, no books or newspapers, no moving pictures or radios from which they could get such information. And when they slash each other almost to death with carving knives or shoot each other's hearts out, the kind, wise, adult Big House folks realize that this is no more serious than the rough play of children in the nursery, though it should of course not be encouraged, so they amusedly acquit them outright or give them suspended sentences during good behavior. Assault and murder among the Negroes is not allowed to deprive the Big House white folks even temporarily of valuable field hands and body servants.

Mrs. Peterkin has a couple of interesting chapters on the superstitions and practices of the plantation Negroes, but many of those she instances are found also among the mountain poor whites, living in isolation in the Southern states, and among the peasants of many European countries. There is nothing to show that in many cases these beliefs and practices were not first taught to the Negroes by the white people with whom they came in contact in captivity. The belief for instance that "the flood tide brings human creatures into the world and the ebbtide takes their spirits away" is certainly held by coast-dwelling and sea-faring people in most parts of the world. Dickens was aware of it and killed off Mr. Barkis appropriately with the ebbing of the tide. Equally common to people of many lands is the notion that a knife will cut friendship, the belief in the efficacy of strange love charms and potions, and many more of those cited. And some of the least appetizing sanitary practices mentioned by Mrs. Peterkin, such as the dirty sock worn to cure sore throat, the lard poultice, the sheep dung tea are identical or closely akin to practices recently described by Mary Ellen Chase of the Smith College faculty as current or remembered in rural Maine during her childhood!

It is probably true as Mrs. Peterkin takes pleasure in telling us that there are Negro mammies who cannot remember the number of their own children or what became of them but pride themselves in remembering all the white babies to whom they were wet nurses and that there are Negroes like "Uncle" who believe that "God made mules, Negroes, poor buckras and overseer chillun to do the work," and that hand labor is beneath white ladies and gentlemen, that "Abraham Lincoln was a white trash boy born in a Kentucky log cabin," elected to the presidency because the white trash Northern people who had always had to work were so "mean and grudgeful hearted" that they were jealous of the white people in the South who were "bredded" and "vast-rich." Slavery and social inequality of every sort inevitably produce some such servile snobbish types, and their patter is undoubtedly acceptable to the ears of Big House owners. Nor need it surprise us unduly, under the circumstances, that one such owner feels it is just as well for the Negroes on her plantation to "keep their backs to the future and persistently ignore that strange thing called progress which so often means change without betterment."

Achievement

By C. Faye Bennett

O GOLDEN dream brought forth in life most high,
What promise does this triumphed hour foretell?
Once bound within a crystal-lidded cell
Until I heard a strange, emergent cry
Of budding wings intriguing me to fly,
I treasure now my drop from that deep well
That portions every spring: A chiming bell
Within my heart and life's true toned reply.

It is not mine alone, this hour achieved.
It is the voice of unfulfilled desires;
The cry of slaves, the song of heavenly choirs,
Some lingering hope a passing youth perceived.
It is the soul of mendicants on wings.
My cup is filled with draughts from hidden springs.

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By the Borders of Canaan

By Jonathan Henderson Brooks

AND so we come at last
Out of the wilderness of wandering through the past
And stand before the troublous waters of Jordan.

The old leaders are buried in Moab,
And it is a new day.
Ancient mercies
And hoary benignities
Are passed away.

Behind us are the fleshpots of Egypt
And the sheen of the waste land of Midian.
But before us lies the milk-and-honey land!
The jubilee of promise is at hand,
Though Jordan rolls between.

And, as we marvel among ourselves
How we shall pass over,—
Bold leaders rise and speak encouragingly with us:
"We shall cross over, somehow,"
They tell us,
"And eat of the old corn and fruit of the land.

"But remember," they say,
"There will not be any manna over there;
Whatever charity you receive hereafter
Must wring its meed of sweating from your brow."

Lord, help us now;
Help us to cross over!

Blow, you winds of laughter,
For the millennium
To come!
Drown out the leaves of sighing
For the old years that are dying!

The New Year and the New Year Campaign

By MARY WHITE OVINGTON

THESE notes for the February CRISIS are written the first of January, a time of good resolutions. I am making but one, that I will do all that I can to help Mr. Pickens put through our Twenty-fifth Anniversary drive. There must be no thought of failure. We must reach our goal of "A Penny for Every Negro in the United States." The Government talks in billions of dollars. We must successfully talk in terms of millions of pennies.

By the time THE CRISIS reaches you our Campaign Committee stationery should be ready. It is a new letterhead, with at the left the names of a large committee of something like sixty members, people of prominence in many lines of work who have signified their interest. In answer to our request for the use of their names, we have had many encouraging replies. Dorothy Canfield, one of the first writers to portray sympathetically the educated Negro says: "Yes, of course, use my name in any way that will help on the cause. It is an honor to have you ask me for it." John Dewey, America's most famous educator answered: "Certainly." Bishop Cottrell says: "I am in hearty accord with the plan and have no hesitancy in giving it my unqualified indorsement. I shall have a presiding elders' council in the state of Arkansas, the area over which I preside, and shall take the matter up and shall make an effort to carry out your program." From S. W. Green we hear: "I shall be glad to have you use my name to represent the Knights of Pythias in the Twenty-fifth Anniversary celebration of the N.A.A.C.P. You are welcome to call upon me for anything I can do to help on the work."—And so on. Our only trouble is that correspondence paper does not run to the length of legal cap. It may not be possible to print all the names of those who offer their good will.

Armed with this and with campaign literature we shall set out, this year 1934, our Silver Anniversary, to secure our twelve million pennies.

But we must face facts. This is twice as much as we raised last year for all causes. If we are to reach it, our slogan must not be taken too literally. Some Negroes and some white people will have to give a thousand and ten thousand pennies to cover all the colored population of America.

Seven million of the twelve million United States Negroes live in the rural south outside of the cities. Mississippi alone has 875,731. Of the eighty-two counties in that state only twelve have cities, and those are small towns to a Northerner. But the rural counties have large Negro populations. Bolivar, in the Northwest, has 52,591 colored. Put the decimal and the dollar mark there and you see $525.91 to be raised for that county alone. Yalobusha (what a lovely name) has 8,251 colored. Alcorn has 4,130.

Some organization or individual might choose to take one of these counties and cover the population, but there would still be sixty-nine unreached. And there would be all the rural parishes of Louisiana, and the long rural stretches of Georgia and Alabama. So we shall have to give our pennies many times over, our nickels and dimes and quarters, even our dollars, to cover this great mass of unknown toilers and their children.

Upon our Branches will, I suspect, as always, fall the major part of this campaign. At the N.A.A.C.P. annual meeting in New York, a vote of thanks was passed for the excess, by four thousand dollars, of the receipts from the Branches over what was budgeted. But the Branches must work for memberships (not forgetting the CRISIS membership of $2.50), or they will disintegrate. So committees will have to be formed of all sorts of organizations, of every conceivable club, committees in churches, in schools, in army barricks, in the kindergarten and day nursery, in homes and in prisons.

I have spoken of the unreached rural population. But there are still many urban centres not reached, especially in the South and Southwest. While unquestionably some of these places cannot safely form N.A.A.C.P. Branches, they can form committees for this our Silver Anniversary. And many can form branches and join fully with us.

Philadelphia is entering upon its campaign to cover every Negro in the city. Pittsburgh has planned a Sunday when each minister has promised to preach on the Association, when the branch expects to touch every group in the city and in one concentrated effort to raise its quota—a penny a person. Then in the spring it will conduct its usual membership drive. Each section and group will have its own problem as to how best to proceed. The point is that all will proceed. That we go forward.

Arthur W. Mitchell, National President of the Phi Beta Sigma, writes us:

"The matter of celebrating your 25th anniversary was brought before our convention last week. We voted unanimously to assist you in your drive to raise funds as a part of the celebration. If you will kindly advise us, we shall be glad to use our seventy chapters in the various parts of the country as agencies through which to collect money for your organization during the drive.

"The only criticism made by our group was the very small donation asked of each individual. We are of the opinion that the amount is so small it will not be remembered by those who give and, therefore, will not make the donors N. A. A. C. P. minded. Personally, I am of the opinion that every man in the country should be asked to give $1.00 instead of 1 cent. I think the fine work the organization has done certainly warrants this kind of donation. It is my opinion the Negroes throughout the country are becoming more and more race conscious and if appealed to in the right way, will be glad to give in more substantial amount to such organizations as the N. A. A. C. P.

"For my own part I have been a member of the organization since its beginning. Many years ago when I was engaged in the school work in the state of Alabama, I took special pride in paying subscriptions for outstanding white men in the various parts of the state, and lived to see them become more liberal minded and more tolerant toward the Negro as a result of reading THE CRISIS. Many of them do not know until this day how they happened to receive THE CRISIS magazine.

Literature on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration of the N.A.A.C.P. may be secured by writing William Pickens, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

THE CASE

By His Excellency, the President

This article is an abstract from the of President Barclay sent to the Le was kindly furnished THE CRISIS *by the of State. We regret our inability to*

"WHEN you last met, the shadow of the economic and financial depression lay heavily over the affairs of this Republic. I cannot now say that that shadow has been wholly lifted, but it is worthy of note that in many aspects the despondency and acute distress of the past few years have given place to a spirit of hopefulness for the future."

The new spirit is largely the result of the law to suppress agitation and the law for the moratorium. Both these measures had important reactions and were criticized, but as to the first, no government can supinely permit itself and its work to be obstructed and nullified by anarchistic groups in the pay of foreign interests. For more than twenty years the government has been faced with this problem and such agitators can no longer be permitted to imperil the very existence of the state.

The history of the Moratorium Act is a long one. "No people are more keenly sensible than Liberians to the disastrous effects of debt repudiation on the credit of their government. Apart from their abhorrence of the business immorality of such action, they are always apprehensive of possible international complications arising therefrom. In consequence, the Liberian Government, throughout its whole history, has never repudiated a debt. Rather than repudiate a claim they have often submitted to imposition and patent fraud."

However, the financial situation created by the depression made action necessary. In 1929, when the world-wide economic disturbance began to be felt in Liberia, the budget was reduced but the income was only about 76% of the estimates. By the end of 1931, the deficit had reached nearly half-million dollars. The President, therefore, addressed a letter to the Finance Corporation of America pointing out that many government employees had had only one month's salary for a year; that public buildings were in need of repairs and public roads called for upkeep. He asked, therefore, for a postponement of payments. The Finance Corporation replied by criticizing conditions in Liberia, reciting rumors that Liberia was seeking financial aid elsewhere, and refusing to consent to any postponement of payments. By extraordinary effort, the interest charge due January 1 was paid but the effect of this was to sacrifice administrative efficiency, increase the floating debt, and ruin the credit of the government. The President, therefore, begged the Firestone Company for a loan of $25,000 to tide over the government. This was also refused.

Anxious not to default upon payments for the loan, the Secretary of the Treasury, in collaboration with the Financial Adviser, and with the approval of the President, made detailed proposals for balancing the budget for the year 1932. The Firestone Company, instead of replying to these proposals, refused to discuss the subject and said that they were referring it to the League of Nations.

The League of Nations was at the time considering the request for political assistance of the Liberian Government and its committee said in turn that nothing could be done unless the Firestone interests consented to modify their contracts in Liberia, both with regard to the loan and with regard to planting. The corporation was, therefore, requested to send a representative to Liberia for negotiating these modifications.

This Firestone representative never appeared in Geneva, and in November, the American delegate Reber declared that before sending a representative to Geneva the Firestone Company was going to negotiate directly by sending a representative to Liberia.

The President felt that Liberia was being manoeuvered into a situation by which it would be made to appear that she was withdrawing from the request to the League of Nations and entering into direct negotiations with the Firestone Company; while, on the other hand, when Mr. Lyle, representing the Finance Corporation, arrived in Liberia, he declared that he had no powers to conclude a definite agreement.

"The government was faced with adopting the smaller of two evils: either (a) impotently to preside over its own disintegration and obsequies whilst waiting for the decision of the Finance Corporation at some indefinite date, or (b) to suspend payment on the loan which was absorbing and draining from the country the larger portion of such income as was still in sight. After many serious deliberations the latter proposal was adopted."

The Moratorium Act was approved by the President, December 23, 1932, and the Finance Corporation of America notified. In that notification, he said:

"The Government of Liberia desires it to be understood that it does not, by this action, seek to repudiate its obligations under the Loan Agreement, but merely to suspend same until payments can be resumed without the risk of endangering the proper functioning of government."

The reaction to this act was emphatic. The fiscal officers under the loan agreement refused to perform their duties under the terms of the act and tried to induce officials serving under them to ignore the orders of the government. The fiscal officials had been appointed and had acted as employees of the Liberian Government. In their dilemma they sought to erect themselves into an extra-legal body, self-styled "The Financial Advisers Administration." Such an organization was not contemplated in the loan agreement or provided under the Constitution of Liberia. The climax was reached January 30, 1933, when I felt compelled to dismiss W. A. Travell, Supervisor of Internal Revenue, from the service of the Liberian Government. The Acting Financial Adviser declared that I did not have the right to dismiss him, yet article 9 of the Loan Agreement specially vests this power in the President. It says:

"These officers shall hold their appointment during good behavior but shall be subject to removal by the President of Liberia, for cause, or upon the withdrawal by the Financial Adviser, for sufficient cause stated, of his recommendation of such officer or officers."

The Finance Corporation of America protested that the Moratorium Act was a repudiation of the debt and an impairment of the government's obligations.

"Whilst it is admitted that a plausible technical argument might be advanced upon this basis, the government opposed to this theoretical view of the case the practical fact that no one can be expected to commit suicide because of the theoretical legal rights of another. And that when a government is, by force of overruling necessity, compelled, for the purpose of maintaining its functioning and existence, to take extraordinary measures, such action, however disadvantageously it may temporarily affect the rights of others, is fully within its legal competence and justifiable by the supreme law of self-preservation."

In addition to the Finance Corporation's protest, the United States Department of State, through Mr. Mitchel, filed a note December 24, 1932, which said among other things that if this law "should become effective it would be construed by the American Government not only as an effort by Liberia

E OF LIBERIA

he Honorable Edwin Barclay

dent of Liberia

om e original manuscript of the message e Legislature, October 25. The manuscript s by he Honorable L. A. Grimes, Secretary y to ublish it in full.

to repudiate a legitimate contract legitimately acquired, but also to nullify the engagements made by Liberia in Geneva.

"In these circumstances, the American Government would feel that Liberia was blocking further American participation in international efforts to assist your country. Moreover, the American Government would be prepared to make representations against the extending of financial aid to Liberia from whatever source unless and until the prior right of American citizens had either been met in full or the existing contract had been modified on a basis of mutual consent."

I cabled a reply saying that the Liberian Government had explored every other legitimate avenue which would lead to an agreement with the other parties in the loan contract and that we were compelled to have recourse to the policy of suspension of payments. But that the Liberian government wishes to emphasize as strongly as possible their continued acceptance of their obligations under the loan contract and their desire when they can to do so without adversely affecting the normal functions of the government to meet the charges arising thereunder, as and when they fall due.

"The Liberian Government note with surprise the suggestion made by the United States Government that the representative of the Finance Corporation sent out to Monrovia in December last was empowered to suggest a solution of the problem and to integrate this solution with the League Plan of Assistance to Liberia. This object was intimated to the Liberian Government neither by any advices from the Finance Corporation nor by their representative himself when he made contact with the President of Liberia. Nor is this suggestion borne out by the declaration made at Geneva by the representative of the United States on the Liberian Committee when intimating the reasons why the Finance Corporation would not enter upon negotiations scheduled to take place on November 15, 1932."

However inclined the government was to meet the wishes of the American State Department, it was impossible to retrace the steps taken. Nevertheless the Moratorium Act was not enforced until January 25, 1933, when it was apparent that the agents of Firestone were determined to ignore the provisions. The government, therefore, took over the control of the revenues and appointed another depository. Meantime, Mr. Lyle made no suggestions for agreement and yet endeavored to give out the impression that Liberia was rejecting his proposals.

As a result of the measures taken by the government, local credit was reestablished, foreign claims and supplies were made, the cost of public health and the sanitary bureau was liquidated. Civil servants were paid their salaries and Liberia paid her contribution to the League of Nations. The arrears for the Liberian Frontier force were also paid, and the re-conditioning of roads and bridges begun. The business situation is, therefore, not wholly satisfactory, but more hopeful than last year.

In March and April, I was advised that Major-General Winship had been sent out by President Roosevelt to discuss the situation growing out of the Moratorium Act. The discussions extended for five weeks, from April 7, 1933. Evidently there was an impression in Washington that the Finance Corporation had made proposals to the government and had been deliberately ignored. I corrected the impression and explained that the Liberian Government had made proposals and was waiting for their acceptance or for counter-proposals.

General Winship declared that the moratorium complicated the situation and should be suspended. I regretted my lack of power to do this. He then asked if I were still open to consider any proposals that Mr. Lyle would proffer. I assured him that I was. Mr. Lyle, therefore, called upon me and I suggested that he present his proposals to me in writing, but he objected to this. "Then followed one of the most unique situations I have ever encountered." Mr. Lyle changed from day to day the basis of agreement which I thought had been settled upon, and denied one day what he had agreed upon the day before.

I finally understood that we agreed upon the following points: That the government would retain a minimum of $375,000 of income for administrative expenses. All income above this was to be applied, first, for paying the loan official; secondly, to paying interest on the debt. That no payment would be made on the Sinking Fund until the revenue exceeded $650,000 a year for two successive years. That the pay of the loan officials was to be decreased and the number reduced.

Mr. Lyle continued to be so uncertain as to what he would agree to that I called in General Winship again and finally May 3, Mr. Lyle submitted proposals in writing. His proposals included an increase of the debt to the Finance Corporation by further issuing of bonds and a temporary reduction of interest to 5%, which, however, should be increased gradually to 8% as revenues increased. There were other provisions increasing the power of the financial officers.

To these proposals I objected in a memorandum to General Winship, pointing out that:

"They tend to increase the government's capital indebtedness to the Finance Corporation.

"They demand the abdication by the government, in favor of the foreign fiscal officers, of political rights and governmental powers, which, in our view, the government cannot grant, and which are, moreover, in contravention of the constitution of Liberia.

"They make no concessions that will ensure, during the period of depression, that funds will be available whereby the government can in any circumstances be maintained out of its revenues, which is the fundamental cause of the present situation."

"I have been considerably embarrassed by Mr. Lyle's presenting these proposals to be accepted or rejected en bloc, which is quite contrary to the spirit of accommodation in which we entered upon these negotiations."

On further consultation:

"Mr. Lyle pointed out very frankly that what he was endeavoring to secure was an absolutely independent organization under the sole and exclusive direction of the Financial Adviser with whose functioning nobody whatever had any right to interfere. That the Financial Adviser would have the right to 'hire and fire' any man in his service, he being responsible for any abuse of this right. I could not share his views nor could I understand this insistent demand that the President, whose constitutional duty it was to supervise every government service, should agree to exclude from his purview the service administered by the Financial Adviser."

The whole situation was laid before General Winship, May 11. He seemed to think that the points of difference could be adjusted, but Mr. Lyle in any adjustment wished apparently to ignore the plan under discussion at Geneva.

He was reminded of Mr. Reber's declaration on November 15 which clearly implied that his corporation

would send a representative to Geneva for the purpose of negotiating on matters relating to this issue. His characteristic reply was that "If Sam Reber made any such declaration at Geneva, it was wholly unauthorized so far as this corporation was concerned." This, of course, confirmed Mr. Hines' intimation that Firestone did not intend to send a representative to Geneva.

Finally an agreement was made with General Winship which we both initialed. This statement as finally drafted said that substantial progress had been made by mutual concessions toward settling the differences between Liberia and the Finance Corporation. These included a reduction in the interest charges, a reduction in salaries of the financial officers, and provision for meeting the interest charges during possible depression. The matters still in dispute were to be settled by the international committee of the League of Nations and thither General Winship went in May, accompanied by Mr. Lyle.

Meantime, the Liberian Committee of the League of Nations wired that the Finance Corporation could not cooperate with it until the Moratorium Act had been repealed. The President asked for a chance to present the Liberian point of view and refused to repeal or limit the Moratorium Act. A final meeting of the committee was called in London instead of Geneva and drafted a final report, together with a supplementary agreement proposed by the Firestone interests. This agreement the Liberian Secretary of State refused to accept unless it was modified in accordance with the reservations which he had made.

The Committee of the League of Nations therefore sent its own committee in the person of Doctor Mackenzie, one of the original investigators, to Liberia. Mackenzie and General Winship arrived August 20. Doctor Mackenzie told the President that the League was tired of the Liberian question and was not prepared to admit any further delay. He said that the agreement represented the maximum concession which the League was prepared to grant, and that there was no need for further appeal to the Council. He said that if Liberia did not agree she would be faced with many embarrassments and that the foreign office in London had advised the United States government in such case to intervene. The President told Doctor Mackenzie that the Liberian government had not been responsible for the delay but that the delay had been caused by the Firestone interests. This government had in September accepted the plan with certain reservations. Why had the League not put it into effect? They considered the assistance of the American financial interests as a *conditio sine qua non* to that end. The Americans had avoided giving that assistance. Could that be attributed to Liberia? Moreover the Liberian government was not prepared either to give its decision on the plan prior to its approval by the Council nor to accept its protocol wholly in its present form. They had therefore decided to place their views before the Council of the League. If the council declined to hear the views of a member state upon matters which vitally affected its existence, that was for the Council to say and would be decisive on the question as to how they interpreted the spirit of the covenant.

The following cable, sent by the Liberian government, dated January 13, 1934, was received in New York by Mr. Lester Walton, who was recently in Liberia in the interest of American newspapers:

"Legislature decides to accept League plan assistance subject to reservations intimated to Council by Secretary Grimes when you were in Geneva. Legislature refuses to agree to provisions for suggested supplementary agreement of Finance Corporation of America and has authorized President to open up further negotiations with this corporation with view to coming to more acceptable arrangement. In event acceptable arrangement is concluded between government and corporation and acceptance by League Council of reservations by Liberian government League plan might likely go into effect but not otherwise."

Doctor Mackenzie had no powers to negotiate or make commitments binding upon the Council. General Winship thought that Liberia ought to accept this plan as the only way out of a difficult situation. The United States Government, he said, was continually approached by questions relating to Liberia and referred to them and desired to assure such conditions in Liberia as would put a stop to this situation.

He pointed out that the two main advantages that Liberia would secure from acceptance of the League Plan with an American Chief Adviser were (a) That with a white man in an administrative position to deny unfounded rumor and reports against Liberia, the international difficulties we experience from this source would be removed, and (b) that an American Chief Adviser would be able to tap sources of capital which would send a stream of money pouring into Liberia, and which would enable her to possess all the material development of more advanced countries. When asked upon what conditions, his reply was that of course the conditions would have to be agreed upon.

Meantime, a joint note was handed me by General Winship on behalf of the United States Government and by Mr. Routh on behalf of Great Britain:

"His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America are convinced that the present plan of assistance provides an opportunity which they are informed is not likely to recur for Liberia to obtain the assistance which she has requested from the League of Nations. They consider that the present proposals will provide a solution of the problems confronting Liberia.

"Upon the acceptance by Liberia of these proposals and the extension when the plan becomes operative of an amnesty to all political prisoners detained, His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America will be prepared to recognize and to enter into full diplomatic relations with the existing Liberian Administration."

Thereupon, I instructed the Secretary of State to proceed to the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations and notify them of our willingness to accept the protocol for ratification, providing the following modifications are made:

"1. The basis of the scheme shall, by the League of Nations, be declared to be the political integrity and economic independence of the Republic of Liberia.

"2. That the Chief Adviser shall not be appointed from any state to whose nationals the Liberian government has financial obligations, or is under economic commitments, nor from any state having territory contiguous to Liberia.

"3. That to avoid any infringement of the sovereignty of Liberia, and the full responsibility of its government, the powers and rights of the Chief Adviser be carefully defined so as to restrict him to the precise objects to which they apply—namely:

To give the Central Government the benefit of his advice, and to supervise the execution of the Plan of Assistance.

"4. That the Deputy Provincial Commissioners shall be Liberians.

"5. That no power be granted to any Adviser appointed under the Plan which will be in derogation of the powers and authority of the President, Legislature, or Courts constitutionally established.

"6. That no question affecting the interest of the state shall be subject

to the decision of any outside or alien authority unless the Liberian Government shall voluntarily decide so to submit such question.

"7. That no body of troops or gendarmerie shall be placed under the command of foreigners; nor shall any force of police or messengers be armed for any purpose except upon the authority of the President of Liberia.

"8. That no official shall be engaged in the service of Liberia even if supervised or administered by the foreign experts except upon the prior approval of, and appointment by, the President of Liberia, and where required by the Constitution, confirmed by the Senate of Liberia.

"9. That the cost of the execution of said plan shall involve neither temporary nor permanent increase in the capital indebtedness of the republic, either to the Finance Corporation of America or otherwise, and the cost of said plan shall be within the actual financial capacity of the government of Liberia.

"10. That a moratorium on interest and sinking fund of the 1926, 7% Gold Loan shall be maintained until such period when, in the opinion of the Chief Adviser in collaboration with the Government of Liberia, the interest, sinking fund, or both, may be met out of current revenues without increasing the capital indebtedness of Liberia, and without recourse to the issuance of bonds.

"11. The government will not concede any limitation upon its power to grant concessions to foreigners; although the government will undertake to submit to the Chief Adviser and Financial Adviser any proposals for concessions that may be made and give due consideration to any advice they may offer thereon."

General Winship and Doctor Mackenzie, thereupon, followed Secretary Grimes to Geneva and the Liberian proposals were heard by the Council and considered. The results have not been communicated to the President in detail.

THE OUTER POCKET

A traveler returning from India says to THE CRISIS:

I suppose the present financial crisis is hard for you as for most other causes. But you represent a cause we must not let fail. I am glad to see as I return after six years abroad that there is a definite improvement in American race relations, but we have still a long way to go and too many people on both sides seem quite willing to let well enough alone. During my furlough, I shall try to make as much contribution to the cause as possible. I have gathered that you do not consider missionaries especially sincere in their efforts to permeate human relationships with brotherly love. I have appreciated your criticism and have been helped by them. However, as a missionary, let me say that for years I have been watching your magnificent approach and efforts to solve America's greatest problem. Every principle which you advocate I can most sincerely and unreservedly back and I consider that I have no greater duty to the God I serve or to the America I love than to use all the influence I have to help bring about the time when America shall indeed be a land of equality in every sense as regards opportunity for all of her citizens.

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A discouraged correspondent writes from North Carolina:

Our local organization of the N.A.A.C.P. is, I am afraid, becoming a victim of the local caste system. We can only use one church in this city where there are twenty churches. All the other ministers are afraid to have the branch hold a meeting in their auditorium. The usual thing that kills an organization bids fair to kill this one. The offices have been crammed full of the chronic office holders, many of whom rarely come to a meeting.

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A woman whose home has been a meeting place for the best in colored America for a generation, writes THE CRISIS:

I am enjoying very much THE CRISIS. . . . I have just re-read Lewisohn's "Israel." I wish every grumbling Negro could read that book; could come face to face with a race whose oppression seems for all times in all countries—a persecution compared to which the Negro's seems small and evanescent. And through it all the Israelite keeps his fine courage and his faith in ultimate triumph. *"I am a Jew."* With that pride that cry runs through this fine book.

I haven't read so many of our Negro writers; but those with whom I am acquainted (a reading acquaintance) never seem to sound the note of enduring courage which I find in a book like Lewisohn's. Maybe I have missed them. Tell me of some. I find in them enough pessism and rebellion, but I find little faith and hope. Am I wrong?

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The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching have issued the following statement:

"We reaffirm our condemnation of lynching for any reason whatsoever and recognize that no elleged crime justifies another crime. We declare as our deliberate conclusion that the crime of lynching is a logical result in every community that pursues the policy of humiliation and degradation of a part of its citizenship because of accident of birth; that exploits and intimidates the weaker element in its population for economic gain; that refuses equal educational opportunity to one portion of its children; that segregates arbitrarily a whole race in unsanitary, ugly sections; that permits the lawless elements of both races to congregate in these segregated areas with little fear of molestation by the law; and finally that denies a voice in the control of government to any fit and proper citizen because of race.

"We regard with favor any legal measure that promises sure and permanent eradication of lynching. Past experience has demonstrated that state and local authorities and public opinion on which they depend have failed to bring to justice members of lynching mobs, in spite of the fact that their identity was well known. It is our conviction that some plan should be devised by which state and federal authorities may cooperate in eradicating this evil. We therefore call upon our President, our governors and our congressional representatives to work out some plan together that shall bring about such cooperation. We further recommend that a committee from this Association be appointed to enlist the cooperation of the President, the governors and the congressional representatives in working out such a plan."

Still Five More

By VICTOR DALY

"YAS, suh! Ole Job had it, an' Marfa an' Mary had it, an' Peter done thought he had it, too. An' it's writ dat lessen you an' me an' all de res' ob us is got it, we's jes po' los' chil'ren."

"Amen, Zeke!"

"Wid out faith in de Lawd Jesus, all us Niggers be still in slavery right now," continued Zeke.

"Sho' nuff?"

"Cose! It's done writ dat faith'll move mountains."

"Ah's a Christian an' all lak dat, but ah 'fess ah doan unnerstan' 'bout dis heah faith," inserted another, slowly.

Zeke was on him like a bird of prey. "You is jes a doubtin' Thomas what ain't nebber gwine git nowhar's. How come you reckon us niggers done taken dat white man prisoner, lessen we had faith?"

The white man, proof of faith, turned his head and cast a look of penetrating scorn upon his Bible-quoting captors. He merely issued a mouthful of tobacco juice, but it was enough to quell, momentarily anyhow, the running conversation in the squad that had made him prisoner just a short while before.

* * *

Noon—and the August sun beat down ferociously on a thick clump of dust-covered bushes and four grizzled horsemen peering out from behind them. There were two roads to watch — the Warrenton Turnpike, and the narrow, unfrequented road winding over to Thoroughfare Gap in Bull Run Mountain, over which the little group of cavalrymen had just ridden in. The bushes, located at the road-fork, afforded a fair view of both roads, and an excellent hiding place.

"Yo' all doan reckon all them Yanks cleared outta heah las' night?" questioned one of the four men. His voice, coarse and low, vibrated with doubt.

"The pu'pose of this heah patrol is to fin' out jes that, 'cordin' to mah way o' reckonin'," spoke up another of the group.

"We ain't see a damn Yankee sence we lef' the Valley," added one of the others.

"This perticular country's been right lousy with 'em. Doan see how all uv 'em coulda got pas' heah so soon."

"Cose it's heaps longer the way we come—through the Valley."

"We been ridin' right smart, though."

"It's a good ten mile from heah to Warr'nton, an' another twen'y mile to the river."

"An mos' o' them Yankees is hikin'."

"They ain't losin' no time, though, them Yanks. Pope 'spicions by now Ole Stonewall's trying to git betwixt him an' Wash'nton."

"Ah wouldn' be none su'prised ef it ain't a damn Yankee from heah clean to Warr'nton.'

"Reckon so, too, but we'll soon fin' that out. We's come fur enough."

"Too fur, mebbe."

"Seems lak we orter dismount heah an' give these animals a res'. When we leaves heah yo' all may be in a hell-fire hurry." He chuckled at his own humor.

The little group followed this suggestion without comment. Each gave attention to his own mount. But their vigilance never relaxed. Slowly the sun moved toward the hills of the Shenandoah.

Suddenly, as one man, they vaulted back into their saddles. The sounds were distinct. But the bend in the road prevented them from seeing anything but the cloud of dust over the Turnpike. Each of the horsemen gripped the mouth of his mount firmly with one hand. There could be no neighing now. The noise on the Pike increased rapidly. The voices became more excited as they grew clearer.

"Sounds lak Rebs," whispered one of the patrol. Knitted brows and confused countenances showed that they were all harboring the same notion.

"Yankees never made no racket lak that, marchin' 'long a road," breathed one of them.

"Mus' be a whole damn army corps," growled another.

"Tain't nuff dust fo' many—sh-h-h."

The marchers were coming into sight now. In another second they would be in plain view of the hidden horsemen. They emerged from around the bend.

"Well, ah'll be damned!" muttered the first cavalryman to regain his breath.

"Sh-h-h! We'll grab 'em as they go pas'."

Eight Negro soldiers and their one prisoner tramped along, totally unaware of the patrol in ambush. The Negroes were chattering excitedly. The white man was sullen and kept pace only because he was prodded from behind, occasionally. A bloody rag around his arm indicated that he had not been captured without a struggle. His hands were tied behind him. The horsemen at the road-fork were poised for their coup. Captors and captive were only a few yards away now. On they came!

A sudden dash from the bushes! A flash of sabres! The Negroes were surrounded. They surrendered in terror. Their prisoner gave a yell of delight.

"Hush, you dern fool! You'll have the whole Yankee army down on us with that screechin'," exclaimed one of the cavalrymen. "Climb up heah behindst me. Turn 'round so's ah kin cut you loose."

"What you gonna do with these damn Niggers, Lars?" another inquired.

The one addressed as Lars, the leader of the patrol, scratched his hairy chin and squinted a glintless eye. He was thinking. "Nigger soldiers!" he growled, as the tobacco juice exuded from the corners of his mouth. "A-shootin' at white men!"

"Ah reckon we cain't be takin' no prisoners, Lars."

Lars was still thinking. He glanced up at the sun.

"We got plen'y time," he concluded, still growling more to himself than to his companions. "Niggers a-shootin'!"

By now the patrol had herded their eight prisoners off the Pike and were back in hiding at the road-fork.

"You Niggers leave them muskets in the bushes an' git goin' up this heah road," ordered Lars. "Jemmie, you an' Bristoe ride on up ahaid. The Niggers will foller behindst yo' all, an' the rest o' us will bring up the rear."

The little caravan set out briskly along the narrow, country road in the direction of Bull Run Mountain—the white men in grey, riding—the black men in blue, walking. For nearly an hour they plodded along silently under the fury of the August sun. Then Lars gave an order. They turned off the road into a little valley, thickly covered on the slopes with strapping red oaks and white birches. The bed of a mountain stream, long since dried up in the summer heat, afforded easy access up the narrow valley. Two towering peaks, like silent sentinels, rose in their majesty on either side, to guard the sacredness and tranquility of the tiny vale between them.

The party halted out of sight of the roadway in a small clearing, completely screened by the twists and bends of the meandering stream-bed and the mass of underbrush that lined its banks.

Lars produced a rope from his saddle and threw it to the horseman nearest him.

"String 'em up," he said nonchalantly, nodding toward the nearest oak.

"You doan mean——", the soldier stammered.

"Ah mean jes what ah said—the Niggers, string 'em up," Lars repeated. "This heah's a white man's war, ah reckon."

The men in grey dismounted. Silently, they set about their grim task. There was only the one rope, so that progress was slow.

"Les shoot 'em, Lars," suggested one of the others.

"Cain't be no firin'," drawled Lars. "Git goin'."

The Negro prisoners were terrified. Some moaned in deep guttural tones. Others, rendered speechless with fright, followed with their panic-stricken eyes, every movement of their captors. Zeke began to pray in a low undertone. One of the others, whom Zeke had branded only a short time before as a doubting Thomas, found his tongue.

"Reckon yo' faith'll git us out dis mess, Zeke? Sho' got us in it," he twitted.

Zeke, down on his knees, ignored him and went on with his praying.

"How come, Zeke?" continued the other.

"Gib us faith, Lawd," wailed Zeke. "Gib us faith."

One by one the Negroes were bound, hung and then dropped to make way for the next. Three had already passed through this routine. Zeke was among the first to go. There were still five more. Lars and his men were hard at work.

* * *

"Throw up your arms!" rang out a clear, sharp command.

The gray men paused in their labors. A dozen men in blue with leveled muskets were looking down on Lars' party from the elevated bank of the dried stream.

There were still five more to be hung. Another rope was procured and the hanging proceeded. One by one the five white men in gray were laid beside the three black men in blue.

Racial Conflict and Economic Competition

Some Observations on Hitlerism

By MARY VAN KLEECK

"DECISIVE YEARS" (Jahre der Entscheidung) is the title under which Oswald Spengler is publishing a widely read "rationalization" of Germany's historical role. The subtitle is "Germany and World Historical Development" (Deutschland und die weltgeschichtliche Entwicklung), and under this heading the first section was published in Munich in July, 1933. By September it was in its fortieth thousand, and discussion of it in Germany justifies the opinion that it is to a large number of persons there, including the Hitler régime, a satisfactory interpretation.

The main thesis is that we are on the eve of a great world revolution which is in reality a racial conflict, but that the white race has been weakened in preparation for this conflict by the class conflict, which in Germany has led to "luxury wages" and in all countries has weakened the national strength through the dominance of labor parties and socialist and communist teachings. Even the Catholic Church is held responsible for teachings regarding property which give strength to Bolshevism.

Germany is called upon, in Spengler's thesis, to lead white western civilization in the approaching "color revolution," which will be a struggle of the races for dominance. Germany is geographically located between East and West, and the German people must accept world leadership and prepare themselves for racial conflict by resolutely suppressing the class conflict. The Soviet Union is identified with the colored races, and opposition to Bolshevism is a part, therefore, of the race struggle.

The significance of such an interpretation is its inverted demonstration that the anti-Semitic program of Hitlerism is not racial but economic; but the success of the competitive, capitalistic system, which uses Hitlerism and so-called "National Socialism" as its cloak in these desperate days, must lie in diverting attention from the economic struggle to an issue which will unite the German people as a nation and perchance ultimately win to their support other nations ready to enlist in an international crusade for white racial supremacy.

Such an appraisal of Spengler's position and of its implications in throwing an inverted light upon Hitlerism, cannot be adequately defended in a brief article. Rather it is put forward as a thesis to be tested by readers. The main test would be to follow the line of the economic history of German capitalism and imperialism from its beginnings before the World War and then through its aftermath. For the moment it is only the aftermath which can be sketched.

Germany, defeated, faced an economic struggle for survival which carried its people through all the sufferings of unemployment, lowered standards of living, economic insecurity, and national humiliation. Surrounding nations in which imperialism was also bearing fruit in stronger and stronger nationalism were incapable of any plan of world economic co-operation, and desperate German leaders whose success in international relations depended upon some measure of international economic agreement were naturally ousted from political leadership by the disappointed and humiliated German people.

The economic problem was in the forefront in the minds of the German people, and National Socialism in its beginnings preached the overthrow of capitalism, but it won its support from the equally desperate forces of capitalism and from a middle class which sought to compensate for its defeat through a new sense of national power. Into such a program the disillusioned and discouraged German youth were drawn in large numbers.

Added to the reaction against international submission, was the disappointment at the failure of the Social Democrats and the trade unions to give economic security through the program of the 1918 revolution. Meanwhile the Communists were gaining in strength, particularly in certain urban centers, and the Soviet Union was attaining a new position among the nations, with a new economic system which challenged by comparison the capitalism of Germany.

Why the German people chose at this moment to maintain capitalism through a dictatorship dressed in the guise of a new "National Socialism," with all its inherent contradictions in terms, is a question to which no adequate reply can be given until the unfolding of the historical process gives better perspective. But the posing of the question is perhaps sufficient to indicate that Germany is engaged in an economic conflict which has to establish disguises in order to promote unity as a nation; and its principal disguise, which Spengler has ably and fallaciously interpreted, is racial conflict not only within the nation but approaching on a world scale.

A minor point was the desperate need of the followers of the Nazis for jobs; and a race, in this instance the Jewish race, was a target whose members could

be ousted from their positions, thus making place for some of those who had been long unemployed and who would perhaps believe that National Socialism in itself was giving economic security. Not only was a race a target; a sex could also be displaced, and women are losing their economic independence. Their loss is rationalized on biological and racial grounds.

The thesis here offered, that the central delusion of Hitlerism is to suppress the class struggle by diverting attention to the race struggle, is confirmed in the experience of Germany's near neighbor, the Soviet Union. There the new economic system repudiates all theories of racial inequality, insisting that racial supremacy has been merely a triumph of imperialism and another phase of the exploitation of man by man in the class struggle which characterizes the capitalist system. It is certainly clear that even the skeptics or the enemies of the Soviet Union have not attempted to charge against this new nation the survival of racial inequalities. In its provision for political representation of minorities and in its planned economy, a new concept of co-operation between races is growing up. Diversity in culture is not discouraged, but rather given freer scope on a foundation of economic equality.

The negative experience of Germany and the positive experience of the Soviet Union together lead to the clear conclusion that racial conflicts arise out of economic competition in a state divided against itself through private ownership and the unequal distribution not only of wealth but of power which arises out of ownership.

For the United States, clear thinking on these issues is of momentous importance. It is to be expected that with the deepening economic crisis involved in the lowering of standards of living the economic struggle will take the form of racial conflicts.

Unemployment as a characteristic of the economic system can be defined as the maintenance of a pool of reserve labor. The strength of the workers and therefore the strength of human rights is inversely proportionate to the size of that reserve pool of unemployed labor. A minority race is forced in larger proportions into that pool and suffers therefore greater weakness in the economic struggle.

The task of America is to solve its racial problem by solving its economic problem. The colored race, with its special problems, can develop a program of struggle for political and cultural freedom only on an economic base. The white race can solve its economic problems only by a program adequate to eliminate economic exploitation of a minority race.

At Harper's Ferry

By Elma Ehrlich Levinger

A NORDIC who murdered his tenses
(as Virginia murdered John Brown)
And squinted in his perspective on history,
Acted as our "official guide" at Harper's Ferry:
We mounted the hill above the rivers.
Here in the land, where the dream of
John Brown smoldered and flamed and
burned out in bloody ashes,
Stands a Negro college.
A professor passed us; a gray-haired
gentleman, black and dignified;
Said our guide: "They got a college here
now;
Would you believe it? A nigger college!
Don't know what they want with education; but I always says
Niggers are all right when they know
their places."
Balaam's ass has uttered prophecy!
Yes, these "niggers" know their place;
Where John Brown, criminal madman,
fought and bled to loosen the chains of
the despised and disinherited,
The Sons of Ham rear an arsenal of peace
and batter down the prisons of the
spirit
To set their people free.

Peter

By W. H. Gerry

HE was a simple, garrulous old man,
A lamb to lead, worse than a mule
to drive,
Nursing each slight as only old men can
But faithful as any breed of dog alive.
Happy he was, bald-pated and pure black,
With seldom a handy thing he could
not do,
Mending a chair, a clock, a tell-tale crack,
Give him his head, somehow he'd muddle
through.
As independent as a man may be
He walked through life in mid-Victorian shoes
And picked up pieces of philosophy
Like tools the careless lay aside and
lose,
Burnished them bright, next ground their
edges true,
And found them better than their owners
knew.

Fences

By Billy B. Cooper

I DON'T believe in fences,
For who am I that I
Should have a right
To horde the ground
Away from passerby?
I don't consider it my own,
This little plot of sod,
To fence it in
Would seem to me
Like holding out on God.

Et Tu?

By J. G. St. Clair Drake

WHILE savage human beasts
Hunt, burn, and ravage me,
I will not calmly hang and die.
No, God! With all the hate
Vilific names and clinking chains
In mortal hearts can fire,
I'll curse; I'll fight; I'll live;
I will not calmly hang and die!
But when a toddling child,
Lisping an infant's curse, carts on its
brand,
In innocence conjoins to burn
Another nigger, and to spit and spurn,
I wish to bow my head, resign the fight
And beg Almighty God for mercy's help—
And calmly hang and die.

EFFECT

See page 36 for "Cause"

A white man in Duluth, Minnesota, writes The Crisis:

One evening my wife and I were sitting on the front porch. I had just finished watering the lawn. In a moment afterwards I saw a colored woman coming toward us, she was nicely dressed and had a little girl with her. I saw that I had failed to turn off the water. I jumped up suddenly and rushed to shut it off.

"Come dear, come dear," the mother shouted to the girl, "that is Mr. *Lynch.*"

The child rushed back to its mother frantically. I didn't know what to think for a moment, I felt sure that I had always been fair with my colored friends. My wife was also puzzled. The woman and the girl passed on by, but returned later on the opposite side of the street. I then met them and inquired of the mother why the child ran when she saw me; and besides, I told her, my name was not "Lynch."

"Oh, I beg your pardon," she said. "I will explain. You see, Mister, when I am on the street with my child, she sometimes gets out of my reach, and sometimes out of my sight. If I see a white man at that moment, all I have to say is, 'There is Mr. Lynch.' She will rush back to me. We tell her at home that white men are likely to lynch or kidnap her and of course I use the name of Mr. Lynch to frighten her."

"As a rule, most white people tell their children that a colored man is a bogy man and will eat them up. It is a common thing to see intelligent looking white mothers embrace their children when running for dear life from a colored man. I am certainly sorry you heard me warn her. Now, I hope," she said, "that you can see the effect of your own practices."

Negro College Radicals

By GEORGE STREATOR

In the March issue of THE CRISIS, *Preston Valien, a student of Prairie View State College, will write his impressions of the National Student League Conference noted in this article.*

THE word "radical" in its common use about a Negro college campus has a variety of meanings; a not uncommon one is the use of the word in the sense of "erratic", or just plain "cussed".

It is decidedly refreshing to note of late some genuine radical activity. Some of the activity has been innocently conceived and innocently arrived at, while other work has exhibited a calm contemplation not entirely unknown to Negro students, but certainly not common enough to be called characteristic.

In Washington recently, several scores of Negro students attended sessions of the National Student League, a racially mixed organization which was started a year ago. At the time of the New York meetings when the League was launched, several of our most prominent deplorers of Socialism, radicalism, anarchism, bolshevism, Communism, and the like—which usually mean the same thing to professional deplorers—were on hand to point out the great menace to home, family, and all sacred institutions inherent in the meetings of the National Student League. When the Washington meetings were held, there was a great gas attack laid down on the League by (1) A prominent Negro weekly newspaper, and (2) the American Federation of Labor. The Negro paper used the N.S.L. as a means of fighting the present administration at Howard University, which gave shelter to the conference. Fighting seems to be a very unethical business nowadays, and whoever calls the administration of Howard or any other Negro University or college, Communist or even radical is simply blowing through a sieve.

In severe contrast to the camaraderie of the National Student League, a situation arose in connection with a more orthodox and approved "Christian" student gathering, the National Student Federation of America, in session at Washington at the same time. Three Negro "alibi" delegates, that is to say, three Negro delegates who were invited in order to keep the thing from being completely a "white" meeting, although in actuality it was,—were booted from place to place in order to maintain the doctrine of social inequality. First of all, at an informal dance on Thursday, the three Negro delegates and their company were asked to leave the floor. In preparation for a formal dance on Saturday night, the Negro delegates were asked not to attend.

There was a third organization in session at the same time: the student League for Industrial Democracy. This group made a united front with the National Student League and prepared to picket the hotel where the Federation was having its dance. The latter organization got wind of the intended picket and held an extended executive session which ended with a decision to reverse the former stand, and to invite the Negro delegates to the formal dance.

The meeting of the student League for Industrial Democracy was curiously limited in the number of Negro delegates, but it is doubtless true that what it lacked in representation it gained in the vigor of its opposition to the stupidity of the orthodox National Student Federation. In addition to the fight proposed to gain entrance to the lily-white dance that the Federation proposed to hold, white members of the L. I. D. group picketed a department store in Washington which refused to hire Negro help, even when ninety-five per cent of the trade was with colored people. This store secured an injunction against the L. I. D. pickets in the same manner that it had got one earlier against the New Negro Alliance whose victory over chain grocery stores has already become known.

SOME people profess to believe that there is a great wave of radicalism sweeping the Negro colleges. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As far as Negro colleges go, there are not enough radicals about to upset a meeting of the Ladies' Sewing Guild. Except for an item of wealth and color, almost every Negro college faculty in America could qualify for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution, or Matthew Woll's various lists of patriots. Instead of being worried about the spread of radicalism, the executive of the average Negro college should be worried because his faculty set-up is even years behind the New Deal.

A talk with the average Negro college student South or North is convincing evidence that Negro college students are not radical; they are reactionary. When they think sociology they think "how to get recognition". When they think economics, they think "how to make money". Their social values are thoroughly utilitarian, and their outlook narrowed by close plugging in an English copy book and a business arithmetic.

If by radicalism we mean a determined departure from custom and tradition, there is a need for radicalism in all of the Negro colleges. There was a hopeful sign on the horizon in the protest meeting of Fisk students against the lynching of Cordie Cheek. An occasion of this sort was formerly passed over with prayer and silence. It was not unusual to have a local white minister deliver a lecture on law and order before the Negro students, while colored leaders cautioned, cautioned, and again, cautioned. Recently students at Johnson C. Smith and Virginia Union Universities have organized chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Here it seems, is a splendid opportunity for an awakening which will make itself felt, even, in the various senior branches of the Association, many of which lie dormant about the country awaiting rather than attacking the problem with a program of thought and action.

One or two Negro colleges have forums which allow any "red," "pink," or "blue" to talk his head off; but the radicalism developed there has no relation to, say, the necessity for getting Negro laborers organized, and is worn, like all academic radicalism, in the manner of a red posy. It's good to show off before the girls, but the sophomores among both the faculty and students are apt to confuse it with "having a darn good time."

Southern students of both races are far less mature than the students in the average Northern or Eastern college, and the comparison is not made on the basis of "tests". The obvious difference is to be found in the reaction towards current affairs, foreign and domestic. The Southern student is like as not a better student of the "bookish" subjects, but his grasp of world history as it is now in the process of being made is nothing short of pitiful.

Instead of staging heresy hunts, therefore, the Southern college, and certainly the Southern Negro college should encourage the free exchange of ideas. Every Negro college could easily dare erect a platform from which all radicals might speak. A conversation with the average A.B., of present vintage will convince anyone that the revolution can not come with any *twenty* lectures.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

AMERICA

Social Note

Mrs. Thomas Massie, whose husband and mother were found guilty and freed of the "honor slaying" of a Hawaiian youth in 1932, has announced that she is proceeding to Reno, Nebraska, to obtain a divorce "at the insistence of Lieutenant Massie." Press dispatches quoted Mrs. Massie as follows: "I am personally reluctant to take such a step, as I am opposed to divorce. The proceedings are in no way connected with the Honolulu trial." Mrs. Massie has been separated from her husband for several months.

Colored Councilman

John Drew, elected on the Democratic ticket, is the first colored councilman in Darby, Pennsylvania, in thirty years.

Negroes on Grand Jury

The Chicago branch of the N.A.A.C.P. has broadcast the fact that the presence of Negroes on the Grand Jury in Cook County, Illinois, is a rare occurrence. Hardly a Negro had been called up to December, 1933, in ten years.

First Arrival

The first baby born in good old New England Worcester, Massachusetts, this year, was an eight pound boy who blessed the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Benson. The Bensons are colored, and their colored child, according to a custom in that town had to be photographed. It was, and the *Worcester Evening Gazette* carried a picture of the child in the arms of a white nurse. One hundred years from now, who will have come over on the Mayflower?

Junior Rotarian

In Sterling, Kansas, William Rawlings, the only Negro boy in the high school, was elected "Junior Rotarian," and became a guest of the local Rotarians at one of their weekly dinner meetings. Rawlings in a star athlete.

After 20 Years

The Rev. Garnet Waller has resigned the pastorate of Third Baptist Church after a connection with that congregation for over twenty years.

Catholic Priest

Rev. Father William Leroy Lane is the first Negro priest to be ordained in New York for over 20 years. By his own choice, he will serve in Trinidad, B.W.I. He is a native of New York.

The Right to Swim

Justice Joseph L. Bodine of the New Jersey Supreme Court handed down a decision in which he said: "Boys and girls enrolled in a class in the public schools of this state are entitled to receive instructions without any discrimination, predicated upon race. To say to a lad: 'You may study with your class mates, you may attend the gymnasium with them, but you may not have swimming with them because of your color' is unlawful discrimination."

Anti-Lynch Legislation

Senators Costigan and Wagner, Democrats from New York and Colorado, respectively, have introduced in the Senate a bill known as Senate Bill No. 1978, which provides for a Federal Law for the punishment of lynchers. A bill identical with the Wagner-Costigan bill is contemplated for the House, although there are four other bills already filed there, including one by Oscar DePriest, Negro member of the House from Illinois.

The Wagner-Costigan bill is supported by the N.A.A.C.P.

EDUCATION

Modern Languages

Doctor W. Napoleon Rivers, Jr., of the A. and T. College, Greensboro, North Carolina, has published a study of the modern foreign languages in thirty Negro colleges. He finds in these institutions 69 teachers, giving all or most of their time to this field. Of these, 6 were Doctors of Philosophy and 31 Masters of Art. Salaries varied from $1,000 to $3,200. These teachers have issued 1 text book and 15 articles. In the thirty institutions, 3,503 students were enrolled in language courses, 2,053 in French, 765 in German, 569 in Spanish. There were 21 French clubs, 8 German clubs and 7 Spanish clubs. In 9 cases, the instructors were foreign born. Twenty institutions offered a four years' course in French; 8 a four years' course in German; 6 a four years' course in Spanish. Italian was offered in only three institutions. Only one institution conducted a graduate course. In the thirty institutions by way of equipment there were 14 phonographs, 2 dictaphones and 8 song charts. In many cases this equipment was the personal property of the teachers. The institutions studied were curiously limited and did not include either Atlanta University, Fisk, Spelman or a number of well-known colleges. The report was printed in the *Journal of Negro Education* for October, 1933.

Class "A" Colleges

The Association of Colleges and Schools of the Southern States has announced ten "A" Class colleges: Fisk, Atlanta University, Morehouse, Spelman, Talladega, Hampton, Johnson C. Smith, Wiley, Virginia State, and Tuskegee. Twenty-two additional colleges are "approved" in Class "B." There are six others listed as "approved" Junior Colleges.

Stenographic Institute

The Stenographers Institute at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has recently placed five stenographers in jobs at Atlantic City. The founder of the school, the Rev. Edward T. Duncan has written THE CRISIS urging that more Negroes take advantage of the Civil Service by preparing for examinations.

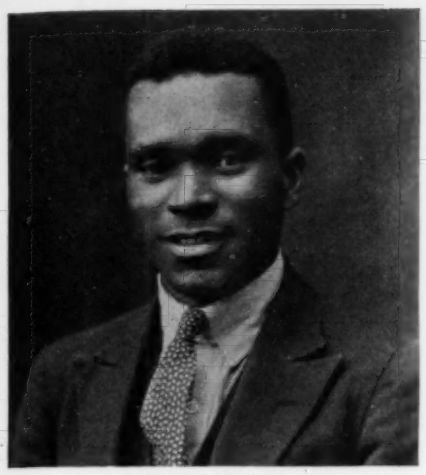
Tailoring School

A tailoring school is conducted in Richmond, Virginia, by J. L. Loving, Jr. The school which occupies a building in E. Leigh Street and gives courses in tailoring for men, including bushelling, pants making, coat making and cutting. It also teaches dressmaking for women, including tailoring, drafting and designing. Mr. Loving is a graduate of Hampton and studied cutting and designing in New York.

Research Fellow

Percy L. Julian, formerly professor of Chemistry at Howard University, is Research Fellow and Lecturer in the Department of Chemistry at De Pauw University, Greenecastle, Indiana. He has Junior students in Elementary Organic Chemistry; Seniors in an advanced problem course in Organic Chemistry, and is

Thomas Adolphus Clark, III, of Philadelphia



Mark S. Radebe
Johannesburg, South Africa

supervising two students who are writing their Master's thesis. He has a Research Assistant, Doctor Pikl of Vienna, and his laboratory was given several thousand dollars worth of new equipment during the past summer. Two papers by Doctor Julian have just appeared in the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*. The college paper of October 9 contains a long article on Doctor Julian's experiments and an editorial mentioning his "excellent research work."

Heads Tuskegee Department

Dr. Nathaniel O. Calloway who received his Doctorate in Chemistry at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, returned to Tuskegee Institute to head the Department of Chemistry.

Master of Arts

Bruce C. Easter received the Master of Science Degree in Education at the close of the Summer Session at State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kansas.

WORK, WASTE, AND WEALTH

Picketing for Jobs

A large department store in the heart of Negro Washington has secured an injunction against the New Negro Alliance for picketing the front of the store and ruining business. Because of the probable effect of such an injunction in future labor disputes, the League for Industrial Democracy took up the picketing for a day, and was also restrained by an injunction. The object of the Alliance is to secure the employment of Negroes. Both sides agree that business in the store fell off 99 per cent.

Librarian

Miss Emma Qualls has been appointed an assistant in the library at Alimosa, California. The town has 7000 inhabitants, only 30 of which are colored.

Civil Service Commissioner

A position of importance to Negroes if the persons appointed are in the mind to make it so, is the position of Civil Service Commissioner in the large cities. In Cleveland, Ohio, the Hon. Harry E. Davis, the first colored appointee, served with distinction and honor for six years. He is replaced at the end of his term by Mr. Clayborne George who served as City Councilman for several years.

C. W. A.

Two crews of Negro workmen, 50 men to the crew, have been appointed by C.W.A. authorities in Los Angeles, under Negro foremen. Some few Mexicans elected to work under the colored foremen in preference to serving on the crews officered by white men.

Ground Breaking

At West Chester, Pennsylvania, Leslie Pinckney Hill broke unmortgaged ground on which will be constructed a Community Center for Colored people. The first unit will go up at once, at a cost of $12,000. It will contain office space, and a combined gymnasium and auditorium, and a cafeteria. Members of the Board who participated in the ceremonies included Mrs. Adelaide Comfort, Mrs. Eva T. Johnson, Mrs. Sophia Beckett, Joseph R. Fugett, and others.

New Building for Howard

The Educational Class Room Building, to cost $460,000 will be erected at Howard University from funds supplied by the Public Works Administration.

New High School

The Board of Education of Nashville, Tennessee has at last decided to build an adequate high school for colored children. The present structure will be converted into a grammar school. McKissack and McKissack, colored architects and builders, have been awarded the contract. The Mayor of Nashville, Hilary Howse, stays in office by virtue of the Negro vote.

LITERATURE, ART, AND DRAMA

Ethel Waters. (See Cover.)

Ethel Waters is at present featured in "As Thousands Cheer," a satirical play on modern life and politics. The success of this popular actress is no sudden spurt. Hers has been a career of hard turns and a plenty of discouragement.

"F. D." in Pastels

La Roy A. Tate, Knoxville, Tennessee, has done the portraits of President and Mrs. Roosevelt in pastel colors. The work was accepted, and the copies are said to be hanging in the executive offices.

Student Performance

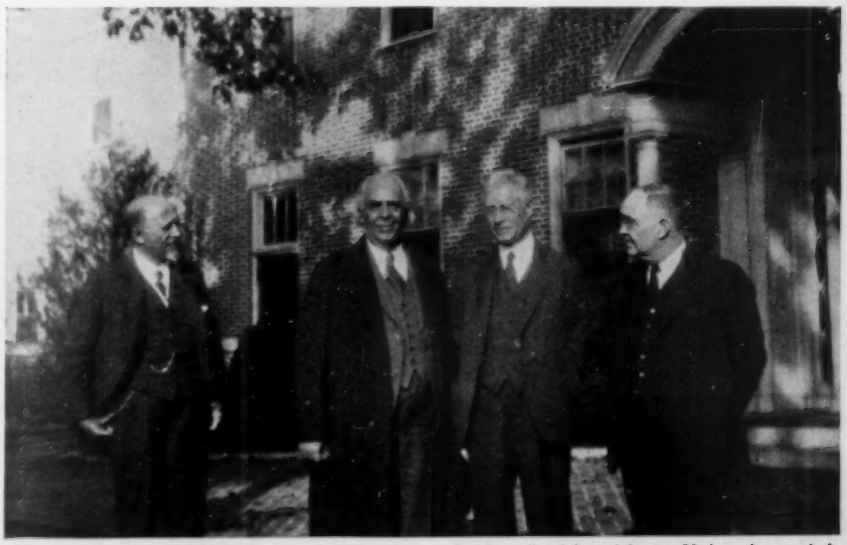
The University Players of Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges presented recently "The Live Corpse" from the Russian of Leo Tolstoy. The play was under the direction of Miss Anne M. Cooke, and had a cast of 22 students. The leading role "Fedya", was taken by George Smith; other roles were: "Lisa" by Curtis Miller, "Anna Pavlovna" by Mary L. Bythwood, "Victor Karenina" by Lawrence Hall. The rendition was smooth and beautiful and dramatically well-sustained.

For the Little Theatre

Walter Baker Publishing Company of Boston will bring out six one-act plays by Shepherd Edmonds. The plays are based on Negro life, and are intended for Little Theatre productions.

"Authors Today and Yesterday"

H. W. Wilson Company of New York has issued "Authors Today and Yesterday", a companion volume to "Living Authors". It is edited by Stanley J. Kunitz and contains short autobiographies of Robert Hichens, Edwin Markham, Jim Tully, W. E. B. Du Bois and many others.



Richard B. Harrison, de Lawd of "The Green Pastures," visits Atlanta University and is photographed with President John Hope, Will Alexander and Dr. Du Bois

Juliette Derricotte

Marion Cuthbert has written a brochure on the life of Juliette Derricotte, for many years secretary of the Student Movement, and later Dean of Women at Fisk University, during which service she met her death. The imprint is that of the Woman's Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The DuBois Literary Prize

On Wednesday, December 27th, at Shelton Hotel, New York City, the first award of the DuBois Prize took place. This prize, as the readers of THE CRISIS know, was established over a year ago by Mrs. E. R. Mathews. Oliver LaFarge, Pulitzer Prize man, is the trustee, and the prize, consisting of $1000 in cash, is given in successive years for fiction, prose non-fiction and poetry.

For 1931, the prize was for prose non-fiction, and a committee of judges consisting of Carl Van Doren, John Chamberlain and Sterling A. Brown, selected James Weldon Johnson's "Black Manhattan" as worthy of the award. Other books under consideration were: Charles S. Johnson's "Negro in American Civilization," and Carrie Bond Day's "Negro White Crosses."

The bestowal of the award was a simple ceremony attended by a small but interesting gathering. Oliver LaFarge acted as toastmaster, Mrs. Mathews made a short statement, and Dr. DuBois said a few words. Then Carl Van Doren in a speech said: "Everything a man should do, Mr. Johnson has done, and done in the right order." Sinclair Lewis proposed the toast to Mr. Johnson: "To a great poet, a great musician and a great gentleman, Jim Johnson." Mr. Johnson responded.

Among the persons present were: Mr. and Mrs. Sinclair Lewis, the Baroness Hetvany, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Gannett, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Van Vechten, Mr. Gilbert Seldes, Mrs. Jessie Fauset-Harris, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Spingarn, Mr. and Mrs. Walter White, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver LaFarge, Mr. Alfred Knopf, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur B. Spingarn, Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois, Mr. George Schuyler.

Soloist with Symphony Orchestra

C. Spenser Tocus, instructor in music at Vashon High School, St. Louis, and the combined chorus of Vashon and Sumner schools, appeared in a concert with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra.

"Never Sentimental"

William H. Bush, member of the American Guild of Organists, gave a recital at New London, Connecticut. The music critic of the *New London Day* wrote: "His playing was inspiring, but never sentimental nor florid. It was brilliant, characterized by his musical interpretation of the melodies and themes." Mr. Bush played Bach, Guilmant, Sibelius-Fricker, Schubert and McDowell.

AFRICA

Liquor Traffic

A deputation from the Native Races in Liquor Traffic Committee on Monday urged upon Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, the Colonial Secretary, that all spirits for native consumption should be totally prohibited in British West Africa.

With regard to West Africa, Sir Philip stated in reply that whatever might have been the case in the past, it was certainly not the case that the importation of spirits presented any serious social problem today. Importation was now relatively very small. At the present time, owing to the heavy fall in the prices of staple produce, the Colonies were faced with the prospect of a deficit. In such circumstances he could not afford to forego a material source of revenue unless there were strong practical reasons.

HEAD OF A BOY
By Richmond Barthé
Photograph by Baxter Snark

The problem which really was acute was not the importation, which had been so much reduced, but the fact that the native population was taking to illicit distillation on a large scale. The local Government in the Gold Coast and Nigeria were becoming seriously alarmed by the spread of this evil.

The number of convictions for illicit distillation had already reached alarming proportions in the two Colonies mentioned, and was causing the greatest concern both to him and to the Colonial Governments.

—*The African World*

White Consul to Liberia

John H. McVeagh, New York, has been detailed as second secretary of the legation and the United States consul at Monrovia, Liberia.

Boer Justice

Two incidents in Johannesburg, South Africa point to the elements of justice in that region. The first: The Assistant Magistrate fined one Delport three pounds sterling for lashing his native servant, Hernandus with a strap when the latter reported late for work. The second: A detective-constable named Wilhelmus Senekal was fined thirty pounds (about $150) for using the third degree on a handcuffed native prisoner.

Mis-education of White Africans

The Hon. G. M. Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, in his address to the Mashonaland Native Welfare Society declared: "There is nothing more degrading than to see a white child throwing stones at a native on a bicycle, knowing that if the native hit him he would probably be charged with assault. I blame white education for that. It should be rubbed into our children how they should behave towards the other race."

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Chicester declared that the Native was a "rather wonderful fellow." Although there has been an era of slave-dealing, and the age of the witch doctor, he felt at ease in commending to the natives the "benevolent domination" of white men.

The Eisteddfod

The Third African Music Festival, "The Eisteddfod," was held in Johannesburg at the Bantu Men's Social Center in December. Gold, silver and bronze medals were awarded successful competitors in music and literature.

The purpose of the Festival is "to preserve and develop the individuality of African native music, and concurrently, to encourage the refinement of European music." Mark S. Radebe was the Organizing Secretary.

ORGANIZATIONS

Alpha Phi Alpha

Dr. Charles H. Wesley was re-elected president at the annual meeting in St. Louis. An educational foundation was created to replace the annual "Go to High School, Go to College Movement." A donation of $200 to the Scottsboro cases was announced.

Omega Psi Phi

Lawrence A. Oxley was re-elected Grand Basileus. The annual report showed 4000 members with a balance of $2600 in the treasury. The meeting was held at Durham, N. C.

Phi Beta Sigma

Attorney Charles W. Mitchell was re-elected president, at the annual meeting, held in Chicago. Resolutions condemning Rolph and Hitler were adopted.

N. N. W. W. G.

The National Negro Women's Writers Guild was organized in New York. Elizabeth Ross Haynes is Director of Activities. Alice B. Shaw is Registrar.

N. A. A. C. P.

Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the N.A.A.C.P. was held in the auditorium of the Ethical Culture Society in New York. Among the speakers were Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Walter White, Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, and Miss Mary White Ovington. Dr. Wise pointed out various analogies between the persecution of Jews in Germany and the situation confronting Negroes in the United States.

The annual open business meeting was held in the executive offices Monday, Jan. 8. Mr. Joel E. Spingarn, president of the board, presided.

Illinois Federation

Delegates from various parts of Illinois met in Springfield, and consummated the formation of a state conference of N. A. A. C. P. branches. The following officers were elected: Atty. Irvin C. Mollison, President, Chicago; A. J. Henderson, 1st Vice-President, Bloomington; L. J. Winston, 2nd Vice-President, Decatur; George Wells, 3rd Vice-President, Springfield; Simeon P. Osby, Jr., Secretary, Springfield; and Daniel Perry, Treasurer, East St. Louis. Dr. D. E. Webster, Springfield, Crestes Campbell, East St. Louis; Dr. Richard S. Grant, Rockford; Archie L. Weaver and A. C. MacNeal, Chicago, were elected to the Executive Committee. Delegates from principal Illinois cities and towns were in atendance.

Prize Contests

The N.A.A.C.P. announces an essay contest for high schools and colleges as a part of the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary during 1934. For each group, prizes of $25, $15, and $10 will be given for essays on many subjects pertaining to the work of the Association. The closing date for the submission of essays in May 15, 1934. Full particulars may be obtained by writing the National Office.

An oratorical contest is scheduled for April 20, 1934. Entries are limited to persons under twenty-two years of age residing in the metropolitan area of New York City, exclusive of New Jersey. New Jersey branches are sponsoring their usual State contest.

Roanoke, Virginia

The Roanoke, Virginia, Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. has recently been reorganized. The following are the officers: J. A. Reynolds, President; Richard Burks, Vice-President; Walter C. Rose, Secretary; C. W. Pendleton, Assistant Secretary; J. A. Prunty, Treasurer; Miss Georgia Hairston, Juvenile Department; Attorney J. L. Reed, Chairman on Redress Committee; Professor T. R. Parker, Chairman of Education Committee; Dr. H. F. Penn, Chairman Publicity Committee; Alfred Hunter, Chairman Entertainment Committee; J. H. Jones, Chairman Finance Committee; George A. Thornton, Chairman Civic Committee.

The Branch has been active in recent months in several important cases involving constitutional rights of Negroes in Virginia.

DEATHS

Sarah Estelle Caution

Mrs. Sarah Estelle Caution died in New York, November 24th. Born in Portland, Maine, August 24th, 1864, she was educated in the public schools of Cambridge, Mass. She married Elisha Butler Caution, a chemist, in 1886. (Mr. Caution died in 1901.) To maintain her two children, Mrs. Caution opened her home on Museum Street in Cambridge, to Harvard students. Many a Harvard man found Mrs. Caution a real friend and a wise counsellor.

Sarah Estelle Caution
1864–1933

During the period of the World War, Mrs. Caution moved to New York and identified herself with social and religious work. She was made Superintendent of the Katy Ferguson Home and remained in that position until her death. Nearly 2000 girls passed under her supervision.

She is survived by a son, Louis B. Caution of Cambridge, a daughter, Mrs. Gladys Caution Kelley of New York City, a grand-daughter, Estelle Kelley, and two sisters, Miss Eva Lewis and Mrs. Anna Carter of Cambridge.

Officers and Delegates First Annual Conference of Branches of Illinois N.A.A.C.P., meeting at Springfield, Illinois

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

A FREE FORUM

FROM the day of its beginning, more than twenty-three years ago, THE CRISIS has sought to maintain a free forum for the discussion of the Negro problem. The Editor has had advantage in time and space for expressing his own opinion, but he has tried also to let other and radically antagonistic opinions have place for expression. And above all, he has sought not to make the N. A. A. C. P. responsible for his individual ideas.

To some this has seemed an anomaly. They have thought that the National Organ of an organization should always express officially what that organization thinks. But a moment of reflection will show that this is impossible. The thought of an organization is always in flux and is never definitely recorded until after long consideration. Meantime, a living periodical reflects opinions and not decisions. And it is for this reason that the editorials of THE CRISIS have always appeared as signed individual opinions of the Editor and not as the recorded decisions of the N. A. A. C. P. This has given vividness and flexibility to the magazine and at the same time has allowed differences of opinion to be thoroughly threshed out.

This policy so long continued will be carried on, we trust, even more vigorously in the year 1934. And just as in earlier years we discussed Social Equality at a time when there was no unity of opinion within or without the organization, so this year we are going to discuss Segregation and seek not dogma but enlightenment. For this purpose, we are earnestly asking not only that our readers read carefully what is going to be said, but also that they contribute their thoughts and experiences for the enlightenment of other readers. It goes without saying that we cannot publish all these contributions but we shall read them over and try honestly to reflect in these pages a new and changing philosophy concerning race segregation in the United States.

THE N. A. A. C. P. AND RACE SEGREGATION

THERE is a good deal of misapprehension as to the historic attitude of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and race segregation. As a matter of fact, the Association, while it has from time to time discussed the larger aspects of this matter, has taken no general stand and adopted no general philosophy. Of course its action, and often very effective action, has been in specific cases of segregation where the call for a definite stand was clear and decided. For instance, in the preliminary National Negro Convention which met in New York May 31st and June 1st, 1909, segregation was only mentioned in a protest against Jim-Crow car laws and that because of an amendment by William M. Trotter. In the First Annual Report, January 1, 1911, the Association evolved a statement of its purpose, which said that "it seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere." Later, this general statement was epitomized in the well-known declaration: "It conceives its mission to be the completion of the work which the great Emancipator began. It proposes to make a group of ten million Americans free from the lingering shackles of past slavery, physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement, and socially free from insult." This phrase which I first wrote myself for the Annual Report of 1915 still expresses pregnantly the object of the N. A. A. C. P. and it has my own entire adherence.

It will be noted, however, that here again segregation comes in only by implication. Specifically, it was first spoken of in the Second Report of the Association, January 1, 1912, when the attempt to destroy the property of Negroes in Kansas City because they had moved into a white section was taken up. This began our fight on a specific phase of segregation, namely, the attempt to establish a Negro ghetto by force of law. This phase of segregation we fought vigorously for years and often achieved notable victories in the highest courts of the land.

But it will be noted here that the N. A. A. C. P. expressed no opinion as to whether it might not be a feasible and advisable thing for colored people to establish their own residential sections, or their own towns; and certainly there was nothing expressed or implied that Negroes should not organize for promoting their own interests in industry, literature or art. Manifestly, here was opportunity for considerable difference of opinion, but the matter never was thoroughly threshed out.

The Association moved on to other matters of color discrimination: the "Full Crew" bills which led to dismissal of so many Negro railway employees; the "Jim-Crow" car laws on railway trains and street cars; the segregation in government departments. In all these matters, the stand of the Association was clear and unequivocal: it held that it was a gross injustice to make special rules which discriminated against the color of employees or patrons.

In the Sixth Annual Report issued in March, 1916, the seven lines of endeavor of the Association included change of unfair laws, better administration of present laws, justice in the courts, stoppage of public slander, the investigation of facts, the encouragement of distinguished work by Negroes, and organizations.

Very soon, however, there came up a more complex question and that was the matter of Negro schools. The Association had avoided from the beginning any thoroughgoing pronouncement on this matter. In the resolutions of 1909, the conference asked: "Equal educational opportunities for all and in all the states, and that public school expenditure be the same for the Negro and white child." This of course did not touch the real problem of separate schools. Very soon, however, definite problems were presented to the Association: the exclusion of colored girls from the Oberlin dormitories in 1919; the discrimination in the School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania; and the Cincinnati fight against establishing a separate school for colored children, brought the matter squarely to the front. Later, further cases came; the Brooklyn Girls' High School, the matter of a colored High School in Indianapolis, and the celebrated Gary case.

Gradually, in these cases the attitude of the Association crystalized. It declared that further extension of segregated schools for particular races and especially for Negroes was unwise and dangerous, and the Association undertook in all possible cases to oppose such further segregation. It did not, however, for a moment feel called upon to attack the separate schools where most colored children are educated throughout the United States and it refrained from this not because it approved of separate schools, but because it was faced by a fact and not a theory. It saw no sense in tilting against windmills.

The case at Cheyney was a variation; here was an old and separate private school which became in effect though not in law a separate public normal school; and in the city of Philadelphia a partial system of elementary Negro schools was developed with no definite action on the part of the N. A. A. C. P.

It will be seen that in all these cases the Association was attacking specific instances and not attempting to lay down any general rule as to how far the advancement of the colored race in the United States was going to involve separate racial action and segregated organization of Negroes for certain ends.

To be sure, the overwhelming and underlying thought of the N. A. A. C. P. has always been that any discrimination based simply on race is fundamentally wrong, and that consequently purely racial organizations must have strong justification to be admissable. On the other hand, they faced certain unfortunate but undeniable facts. For instance, War came. The Negro was being drafted. No Negro officers were being commissioned. The N. A. A. C. P. asked for the admission of Negroes to the officers' schools. This was denied. There was only one further thing to do and that was to ask for a school for Negro officers. There arose a bitter protest among many Negroes against this movement. Nevertheless, the argument for it was absolutely unanswerable, and Joel E. Spingarn, Chairman of the Board, supported by the students of Howard University, launched a movement which resulted in the commissioning of seven hundred Negro officers in the A. E. F. In all the British Dominions, with their hundreds of millions of colored folk, there was not a single officer of known Negro blood. The American Negro scored a tremendous triumph against the Color Line by their admitted and open policy of segregation. This did not mean that Mr. Spingarn or any of the members of the N. A. A. C. P. thought it right that there should be a separate Negro camp, but they thought a separate Negro camp and Negro officers was infinitely better than no camp and no Negro officers and that was the only practical choice that lay before them.

Similarly, in the question of the Negro vote, the N. A. A. C. P. began in 1920 an attempt to organize the Negro vote and cast it in opposition to open enemies of the Negro race who were running for office. This was without doubt a species of segregation. It was appealing to voters on the grounds of race, and it brought for that reason considerable opposition. Nevertheless, it could be defended on the ground that the election of enemies of the Negro race was not only a blow to that race but to the white race and to all civilization. And while our attitude, even in the Parker case, has been criticized, it has on the whole found abundant justification.

The final problem in segregation presented to us was that of the Harlem Hospital. Here was a hospital in the center of a great Negro population which for years did not have and would not admit a single Negro physician to its staff. Finally, by agitation and by political power, Negroes obtained representation on the staff in considerable numbers and membership on the Board of Control. It was a great triumph. But it was accompanied by reaction on the part of whites and some Negroes who had opposed this movement, and an attempt to change the status of the hospital so that it would become a segregated Negro hospital, and so that presumably the other hospitals of the city would continue to exclude Negroes from their staffs. With this arose a movement to establish Negro hospitals throughout the United States.

Here was an exceedingly difficult problem. On the one hand, there is no doubt of the need of the Negro population for wider and better hospitalization; and of the demand on the part of Negro physicians for opportunities of hospital practice. This was illustrated by the celebrated Tuskegee hospital where nearly all the Negro veterans are segregated but where an efficient Negro staff has been installed. Perhaps nothing illustrates better than this the contradiction and paradox of the problem of race segregation in the United States, and the problem which the N. A. A. C. P. faced and still faces.

The N. A. A. C. P. opposed the initial establishment of the hospital at Tuskegee although it is doubtful if it would have opposed such a hospital in the North. On the other hand, once established, we fought to defend the Tuskegee hospital and give it widest opportunity.

In other words, the N. A. A. C. P. has never officially opposed separate Negro organizations—such as churches, schools and business and cultural organizations. It has never denied the recurrent necessity of united separate action on the part of Negroes for self-defense and self-development; but it has insistently and continually pointed out that such action is in any case a necessary evil involving often a recognition from within of the very color line which we are fighting without. That race pride and race loyalty, Negro ideals and Negro unity, have a place and function today, the N. A. A. C. P. never has denied and never can deny.

But all this simply touches the whole question of racial organization and initiative. No matter what we may wish or say, the vast majority of the Negroes in the United States are born in colored homes, educated in separate colored schools, attend separate colored churches, marry colored mates, and find their amusement in colored Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s. Even in their economic life, they are gradually being forced out of the place in industry which they occupied in the white world and are being compelled to seek their living among themselves. Here is segregation with a vengeance, and its problems must be met and its course guided. It would be idiotic simply to sit on the side lines and yell: "No segregation" in an increasingly segregated world.

On the other hand, the danger of easily and eagerly yielding to suggested racial segregation without reason or pressure stares us ever in the face. We segregate ourselves. We herd together. We do things such as this clipping from the *Atlanta Constitution* indicates:

> "A lecture on the raising of Lazarus from the dead will be delivered at the city auditorium on Friday night. The Big Bethel choir will sing and the Graham Jackson band will give additional music. Space has been set aside for white people."

The "Jim Crow" galleries of Southern moving picture houses are filled with some of the best Negro citizens. Separate schools and other institutions have been asked by Negroes in the north when the whites had made no real demand.

Such are the flat and undeniable facts. What are we going to do about them? We can neither yell them down nor make them disappear by resolutions. We must think and act. It is this problem which THE CRISIS desires to discuss during the present year in all its phases and with ample and fair representation to all shades of opinion.

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